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# Music Publishing in New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century

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MUSIC PUBLISHING IN NEW ORLEANS  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the  
Louisiana State University and  
Agricultural and Mechanical College  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

in

The School of Music

by  
Peggy C. Boudreaux  
B.M.E., University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1968  
August, 1977

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## ABSTRACT

New Orleans was, in the nineteenth century, a cultural center without equal in the South. As such it supported many businesses closely connected to music. This study is focused upon music publication in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. Included are a history of the major establishments operating throughout the century and a survey of extant music published by these firms.

In Chapter I, are included introductory material and a brief survey of the major music publishers of New Orleans.

In Chapters II, III, and IV, the activities of three important publishers from the first half of the century are dealt with: Paul Emile Johns, William Mayo, and Benjamin Casey, respectively.

In Chapter V, minor publishers active throughout the nineteenth century are surveyed and their contributions to music publishing in New Orleans are summarized.

In Chapter VI, the activities of the Wehrmann family as engravers, lithographers, and printers for other establishments are reviewed. Also surveyed is the music composed and published by members of the family.

In Chapters VII, VIII, and IX, the large family establishments of the Werleins, Grunewalds, and Blackmars, firms which dominated music publishing in the second half of the century, are dealt with individually.

In Chapter X, the activities of Junius Hart, the last major publisher to open an establishment in New Orleans in the nineteenth century, are summarized.

In Chapter XI, a summary of the entire study is included, with recommendations for further research in this field.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In keeping with New Orleans' position as a center for the performing arts in the nineteenth century, there prospered in the city many business establishments closely connected with the arts and dealing in particular with music. By 1840 over one thousand pianos had entered the city, and over eighty businesses sold sheet music, musical instruments, or both. In the decade between 1831 and 1841, twenty-six stores carried on this practice of including music and instruments in a wide-ranging inventory of goods. Ten of these stores carried large stocks of pianos.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the nineteenth century, music written by local composers was published in New Orleans. In the first half of the century, the firms of Emile Johns and William T. Mayo were active in this respect. In the second half of the century, such publication was continued by the firms of Armand Blackmar, Philip Werlein, and Louis Grunewald. Music engraving was a business necessary to publication, and work of this nature was done in New Orleans by G. P. Manouvrier and by members of the Wehrmann family. The Wehrmanns alone accounted for over eight thousand engraved pieces.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Arnold Kmen, "The Music of New Orleans," in The Past as Prelude: New Orleans 1718-1968, ed. Hodding Carter (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1968), p. 211.

<sup>2</sup>John Smith Kendall, "New Orleans' Musicians of Long Ago," Louisiana Historical Quarterly 31 (January 1948), p. 148.

Of the music published locally, the great majority was for solo piano. By far the most popular instrument of this century, a piano was considered a necessary part of a genteel home. An evening gathering of friends usually included the performances by the young ladies of polkas, waltzes, galops, and other popular dance pieces of the day. Elaborate adaptations and arrangements of the then popular European repertoire found their way into bound volumes of these innumerable dances, along with patriotic American marches, works composed for particular social events or clubs, and music dedicated to eligible young ladies by the young gentlemen courting them. These young men, if unable to compose themselves, often would have a song or dance written by someone else. They would then pay to have this piece published and dedicated to their chosen lady. The music itself was well cared for in many homes by being bound into "albums" with hard covers and leather spines, or all-leather bindings, with the owner's name imprinted in gold on the cover. Such bound albums made popular gifts.

The only other large group of music published in New Orleans was for solo voice accompanied by piano. Most of these pieces were in the soprano or tenor range, and their subject matter covered a wide variety of sentiment. The majority would be described today as sentimental ballads, but there were also comic songs, patriotic hymns, and "popular airs." A few duets were published for alto or tenor and soprano, and occasionally the chorus of a ballad was arranged for soprano, alto, tenor, and bass.

The Civil War produced a tremendous amount of Southern patriotic music, including "Dixie," "Maryland! My Maryland!" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag." Civil War soldiers carried with them cheap, pocket-sized publications which had the words, but not music of standard favorites and popular patriotic songs. Among such publications were Hopkins' New Orleans 5-Cent Song Book, published in New Orleans in 1861 by a printer named Hopkins, and The Dixie Land Songster, published jointly by Blackmar and Bros. in Augusta, Georgia, and Burke, Boykin and Co. of Macon, Georgia, in 1863.<sup>3</sup> During the Civil War, music and other publications were copyrighted under the laws of the Confederate States of America. But with the defeat of the South, Union copyrights were reinstated and the new copyrights were often merely added to copies of music already in stock.

The music publishing business was not without its hazards during the war years. Armand E. Blackmar was arrested and fined five hundred dollars by General Butler for the publication of "Bonnie Blue Flag," and every copy of the song was ordered destroyed.<sup>4</sup>

Of the many firms active during the nineteenth century, the earliest publisher for whom substantial records and some surviving music exists is Paul Emile Johns. Listed from 1822 onwards in New

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<sup>3</sup>Richard B. Harwell, Confederate Music, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Mildred Lewis Rutherford, The South in History and Literature, (Atlanta, Georgia: Franklin-Turner Company, 1906), p. 254.

Orleans' social registers as a piano teacher, Johns was active in New Orleans musical life until 1842, when he sold his music business to William T. Mayo of New Orleans and went into the cotton trade. Active musically, Johns was known as a performer and composer as well as a publisher.

As the century progressed, other music firms appeared in New Orleans to claim a share of the publishing business. The firms of Philip Werlein, Louis Grunewald, and Armand Blackmar were by far the most outstanding, both in terms of longevity and volume of production. The Werlein and Grunewald firms are still active in New Orleans, and hundreds of Blackmar publications survive, although the firm was active only from 1860 to the 1890s.

In 1884 the World Cotton Centennial Exposition opened its doors in New Orleans. This was a social and political event of international scope, and the large music hall, capable of seating eleven thousand, was the scene of numerous concerts. A Mexican military band, sent as part of Mexico's contribution to the Exposition, was a tremendous success at these concerts, and inspired a rush of publications of pseudo-Mexican music to fill the new demand. The popularity of concerts at the West End Resort near New Orleans also brought forth publications of piano arrangements of music played at these concerts.

From its earliest beginnings, New Orleans was a center of musical culture, particularly opera, and this appreciation of music was encouraged by a society which supported performers, composers, and music businesses such as publishing. From the nineteenth century,

hundreds of pieces of sheet music survive which give a clear picture of popular taste and culture, as well as of the businesses which catered to these tastes.

Eight major publishing firms are discussed in individual chapters in the body of this work. These chapters are arranged chronologically according to the year in which each firm made its earliest appearance in the city of New Orleans. Several minor publishers are included in a single chapter, Chapter V. Since the combined activities of these minor publishers cover the greater part of the entire century, this chapter was placed between chapters concerning firms operating largely in the first half of the century, and chapters dealing with establishments founded in the second half of the century.

The extant music examined for this study is found in three collections; the largest is that in the Louisiana Room of the Louisiana State University Library. Permission to study two private collections was granted by their owners, Mr. Vaughn Glasgow and Mr. Al Rose, both of New Orleans.

To avoid excessive footnotes, an Appendix is included which lists in chronological order the city directories frequently referred to in the body of the text.

## CHAPTER II

### PAUL EMILE JOHNS

Paul Emile Johns was the first music publisher known in the city of New Orleans. He emigrated to the United States in 1820 from Vienna, but was born in Cracow, Poland, around 1798.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of his musical training as a young man, but in 1822 he was advertising himself in New Orleans as a piano teacher, and in 1823 as a pianist. His activities were not confined to teaching and performance, however, for Le Courier de la Louisiane of February 5, 1824, advertised a concert in the Orleans theater at which "a warlike symphony, composed for the occasion by Mr. Johns" was to be played. Johns performed frequently at concerts which preceded Mardi Gras balls, serving either as soloist or as accompanist for instrumental or vocal solos. As soloist at such concerts, Johns played piano concertos of Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812) and David Steibelt (1765-1823), and pieces such as Joseph Mayseder's (1789-1863) "Third Grand Poland Air."<sup>2</sup> In these concerts, he was accompanied by the opera orchestra.

The frequency of concerts in New Orleans provided an outlet for local composers of instrumental and vocal music, and also for more

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<sup>1</sup>John H. Baron, "Paul Emile Johns of New Orleans: Tycoon, Musician, and Friend of Chopin," International Congress of Musicology Report, (1972), p. 246.

<sup>2</sup>L'ami des lois, February 4, 1824.

ambitious works. The year 1824 saw the premiere (and probably only) performance of a one-act comic opera by Johns, "The Military Stay, or the Double-Trick."<sup>3</sup> Johns made his last known appearance as a performer in 1827 in a benefit concert at which he played a piano improvisation.<sup>4</sup> After 1828 he is no longer mentioned as a performer but seems by this time to have been devoting his entire attention to music as a business.

As far back as 1826, Johns was advertising in papers such as the New Orleans Argus that he had for sale at his home, or at the store of a friend, new music from Paris. It is not known exactly when these business connections in Paris began, but by December of 1830 Johns was doing well enough to announce the establishment of his own business, E. Johns and Company, Music sellers and stationers. He had taken an extended European voyage prior to launching this business, for he advertised contact with major "music vendors and editors" of London, Paris, and Germany.<sup>5</sup>

Johns' strongest association in Paris was with the firm of F. Pleyel and Co., printers, and manufacturers of pianos. Sometime between 1831 and 1834 Pleyel and Johns published, under dual imprint, Johns' Album Louisianais: Hommage aux Dames de la Nouvelle Orleans. This "album" contains eight musical selections-- six songs and two solo piano pieces. A waltz and a polonaise comprise the piano solos. Each of the eight works is dedicated to one of the Creole belles of New Orleans. The songs

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<sup>3</sup>La Courier de la Louisiane, February 13, 1824.

<sup>4</sup>New Orleans Argus, May 30, 1827.

<sup>5</sup>La Courrier de la Louisiane, December 14, 1830.

are strophic, making use of sentimental French texts by an unidentified "J.L."

Publication of these compositions of Johns may have been a business favor bestowed upon him by the Pleyel company, for Johns' chief contact with this firm was through the sale of their pianos. From 1832 onwards, the Pleyel pianos were featured in Johns' advertisements and one piano was especially built for Johns by the Pleyels. This instrument survives and is presently in the Cabildo in New Orleans. Johns' contract with the Pleyel firm was not exclusive, however, for Johns sold pianos from Vienna and New York as well as Paris. Johns' advertisements from the 1830s also list him as bookseller, music publisher, piano dealer, and a firm where needles, scissors, paintings, chessmen, and blotting paper were available.<sup>6</sup>

Johns seems to have changed business locations frequently, always moving to a larger store. In 1823 he was at 184 Bienville. By 1832 he was listed on 113 Chartres Street as well as the corner of Camp and Common Streets. From such a dual listing one could infer a teaching studio separate from his regular business establishment, or perhaps a separate location for the display of his pianos. In 1834 and 1835 Johns' place of business was 87 Chartres. A fire in 1837 forced yet another relocation and from 1838 to 1842 the establishment's address was the corner of St. Charles and Common.

It was on one of Johns' business trips to Paris, probably in the summer of 1832, that he was introduced by Camille Pleyel of the piano firm to the young Frederic Chopin.<sup>7</sup> Chopin was at this time supposedly

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<sup>6</sup>La Courrier de la Louisiane, April 21, 1837, and November 3, 1837.

<sup>7</sup>Baron, p. 246.



considering emigration to America, and it is natural to assume that Johns, of Polish descent and in the music business in New Orleans, would be sought after for advice. The fact that Johns had not been able to earn a living as either composer or pianist in New Orleans may or may not have influenced Chopin. This is open to conjecture. But that the two men became friends is evidenced by Chopin's dedication of his Mazurkas, Op. 7, to Johns in 1832. Johns was the only American so honored by the composer. Chopin also provided Johns with a letter of introduction to Paris society through Ferdinand Hiller. In this letter Johns is introduced as "a distinguished amateur of New Orleans."

Johns is not known to have ever published any of Chopin's music. He confined himself rather to local composers, and the then standard European repertoire. One such local composer published by Johns was G. P. Manouvrier, a gentleman who was for sometime in the 1830s a partner of Johns in the publishing business. A Courrier advertisement of December 14, 1830, first introduces Manouvrier as Johns' partner, and it is assumed that the arrangement continued until 1838. It was in 1838 that Manouvrier composed the piano waltz "Les Magnolias: Valses Louisianaises a la Strauss" and dedicated it to Madame Emile Johns. Although sold by Johns and Manouvrier, "Les Magnolias" and "Haste, Bootman, Haste," also by Manouvrier, were both printed in the East, along with Manouvrier's "Do'st thou Love Me My Mina To Day" [sic]. This last piece is a piano romanza by Manouvrier and is advertised on the cover as published in Philadelphia by G. Willig of 171 Chestnut Street and for sale at E. Johns and company of New Orleans. The copyright is also entered in Pennsylvania in 1838.

The Madame Johns to whom "Les Magnolias" is dedicated was Johns' second wife, Jeanne Emma Favre D'Aunoy. They were married in 1836, Johns' first wife having died in 1833. Jeanne Emma died in 1851, and Johns married yet again, in 1852. His third wife was Marie Celeste Rose D'Aunoy, a widow who had been married to a relation of his former wife. Johns was the father of five daughters, two sons, and one son by adoption.<sup>8</sup>

In 1846 Johns sold his music store and publishing business to W. T. Mayo of New Orleans, who in turn sold it to Philip Werlein in 1854. The Werlein family continues in the music business at present. When Johns gave up the publishing business he went into the cotton trade and established offices on Carondelet Street. By 1858 the firm was known as Bunge, Johns, and Company, the other partners being Edward Bunge and H. Laehnis of New York. From about the time he sold his music business until his death in 1860, Johns was also the Russian Consul in New Orleans. In 1860, on one of his business trips to Europe, Johns died suddenly in Paris, where he is buried.

Very little of the music originally published by Johns survives today, and of those pieces which do remain, one bears a date of publication. Mr. Vaughn Glasgow, curator of the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans, has in his private collection the "Do'st Thou Love Me My Mina To Day" by Manouvrier, and a copy of the Johns' Album Louisianais, missing the first song, is on loan to the Dominican College Library of New Orleans. Johns' contribution to publishing in New Orleans lies primarily in his having

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<sup>8</sup>Baron, p. 246.

been the first in the city, and the first to undertake publication of the works of local composers in addition to the standard repertoire imported from New York, Philadelphia, and Europe.

## CHAPTER III

### WILLIAM T. MAYO

In 1846 Emile Johns sold to William T. Mayo the music business which Johns had established in 1830. Mayo's business in turn flourished from 1846 until 1854, when he was bought out by Philip Werlein. In the eight years of Mayo's proprietorship, he expanded from his first address at No. 5 Camp Street. In 1852 title pages by Mayo bore Nos. 5, 7, and 93 Camp Street as his address. In 1853 his address was listed as only No. 5 and No. 7. Since this was the year before he sold his business to Werlein, one might infer a possible business slump which could have led to Mayo's decision to sell.

Like Benjamin Casey's establishment (see Chapter IV), Mayo's company served as an outlet for publishing firms in northern American cities. Mayo's relationship with these companies was often that of equal partner in publication rather than outlet or agent. In the city of Baltimore, Mayo established business contact with Miller and Beacham, but only one piece of piano music survives with their dual imprint, "The Coquette Polka" by Charles d'Albert (1809-1886). Another Baltimore publisher, F. D. Benteen, co-published with Mayo at least six pieces, five for solo piano, the sixth a vocal duet for soprano and alto. There is no date of copyright on the music published in conjunction with Miller and Beacham, but on that published with Benteen the dates 1850, 1851, and 1852 are given. These dated copyrights were granted in Maryland to Benteen, indicating that Benteen, rather than Mayo, was the dominant partner in the business relationship. On the title pages of

the actual music, however, there is nothing to indicate less than equality. The names of Mayo and Benteen appear in the same script and Mayo is not listed as agent or outlet.

In the city of New York, William Hall and Son published three pieces of music which bear Mayo's imprint along with their own. Of these, two were copyrighted in 1851 and the third carries no date.

In his dealings with Lee and Walker of Philadelphia, Mayo appears as an outlet, rather than co-publisher. Five pieces of this music survive: two undated, two bearing 1849 copyrights, and one from 1851. All three of the copyrights originated in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Only one other piece of music is extant for which Mayo is not the sole publisher. This is "What's Your Name? Fillmore Ranger!", a piano polka composed by and published in conjunction with H. E. Lehmann. Mayo's address on this work is No. 5 Camp Street, indicating publication prior to his expansion in 1852.

Another piano polka, "The Lyre," was published solely by Mayo, but written by Lehmann. This second piece was copyrighted in 1850 by Lehmann, but Mayo appears on the title page as the only publisher. Lehmann was a prolific composer and arranger who eventually undertook publication of his own works. A more complete discussion of his activities may be found below.

There are sixteen compositions extant with Mayo's imprint as sole publisher. The copyright dates on these span the years 1850 to 1853. Of the sixteen, five are vocal solos, ten are for solo piano (including Lehmann's "The Lyre"), and one is a ballad arranged for guitar. Even

in such a small amount of music, five and possibly six New Orleans composers appear. Along with Lehmann, these include Robert Meyer, G. Schmitt, Mrs. L. L. D. J., J. Thuer, and Johnny Straws Hoss-T-. Within this group, J. Thuer cannot definitely be named as a New Orleans composer, although his piano solo "The Lafourche Quick-Step" seems to refer either to the bayou or the parish by that name, both located south of New Orleans. Thuer is honest enough to admit on the title page that the subject of this quick-step is "taken from 'Swiss Mountain Quickstep'". Thuer evidently had either a vivid imagination, or an indistinct sense of geography which enabled him to closely connect these particular areas of the globe.

With the exception of Thuer and Johnny Straws Hoss-T-, each of the above local composers is designated as a resident of New Orleans on the title pages of their respective works. Of these, Robert Meyer is the only composer known to have continued publishing, this under the imprint of Philip Werlein in the later 1850s. Like Thuer, Meyer, Schmitt, and Straws titled their compositions with an eye to local taste. A siciliano by Meyer is titled "L'Orleanaise" and only sub-titled "La Sicilienne;" G. Schmitt's piano polka is called "La Louisianaise."

Of the music published by Mayo, the work most closely associated with his business is a piano polka by Johnny Straws Hoss-T-. In addition to the unusual name given as the composer's, the elaborate title page bears other information which might lead one to believe that the polka was published tongue-in-cheek by Mayo. Where there is normally a copyright date, the reader is informed that a copyright has not been secured. Further, this edition professes to be the 39th

edition and the 'real' "No. 5 Camp St. Polka." Should the reader still have any doubts about this music, he is further informed that this work is "commonly called the German Polka and sometimes the Real Russian Polka."

In addition to supporting local composers through publication of their music, Mayo gave some support to businesses indirectly involved with music. The arts of engraving and lithography were encouraged in New Orleans by Mayo's publishing enterprise. Mayo's publication of Maurice Strakosch's "Sea Serpant Polka" in 1850 was the first piece of music to be lithographed in New Orleans.<sup>1</sup> This work was done by Xavier Magny, who established a place of business on Exchange Alley in New Orleans. Other pieces lithographed for Mayo by Magny include the Lehmann "What's Your Name? Fillmore Ranger!" already mentioned and "Two New Dances," piano solos arranged from Verdi's works by P. A. Frigerio. On Lehmann's piece, Magny's address is given as Exchange Alley No. 35; on Frigerio's (dated 1853) it is 117 Exchange Alley.

The practice of engraving music co-existed with lithography and was carried on in New Orleans chiefly by the Wehrmann family. Since the Wehrmanns were later active as publishers in their own right, as well as composers, they are more fully discussed below. But in reference to Mayo, it should be noted that two of his piano solos

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<sup>1</sup>Richard B. Harwell, Confederate Music (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 11.

were engraved by the Wehrmanns. These are the "La Pauline Waltz" (1851) by Madame Angela De N. Hull and the "Eclipse Polka" (1852) by F. Henssler.

In summary, it may be stated that in the eight years of William Mayo's activity as a music publisher in New Orleans he did much to support local composers, and also had an indirect effect on businesses related to music publishing. His dealings with northern publishers helped to keep New Orleans in touch with the musical life of other parts of the country. At the same time, he continued a music establishment begun by Emile Johns in 1830 and still prominent in New Orleans today as Werlein's Music Company.



## CHAPTER IV

### BENJAMIN CASEY

In the first half of the nineteenth century, three firms were active in the music publishing business in New Orleans. The earliest company, founded by Emile Johns in 1830, published until 1846, when Johns sold his business to William T. Mayo. Mayo in turn carried on the business until past mid-century, when he sold to Philip Werlein. The third publisher, Benjamin Casey, began his activities in 1834 and continued, according to city directories, until at least 1846. Of these three firms, Casey appears to have published the smallest amount of music under his own imprint. However, as a music agent and distributor of music published in northern American cities, Casey appears to have been far more active than either Johns or Mayo. From 1834 to 1844, Casey is listed in New Orleans directories at No. 19 Camp Street. This is the only address to appear on surviving pieces of music published by Casey. On many pieces of music no address is given. In 1846 Casey is listed simply as "music agent," evidently no longer publishing on his own.

As a distributor and agent, Casey's chief business connections seem to have been exclusively northern. Very few of those works which bear his imprint as agent have any date of publication or copyright. The few that do, however, indicate that this music was sold in the South several years after original publication in the North. An example of this difference in time is the song "Hurrah! Hurrah!- A celebrated National German Song." The text of this song is English,

despite the title, and the music is an arrangement by A. Clifton, copyrighted in 1823 in Pennsylvania. Since Casey did not begin distribution until 1834, a lapse of at least eleven years between date of publication in the North and date of distribution in the South is evident.

On two other pieces of music bearing Casey's name, 1833 and 1834 copyright dates appear. "Ruth and Naomi" (1833) carries a dedication to Rt. Rev. Benjamin Smith, Bishop of Kentucky. E. Riley of New York originally published this song. A sentimental ballad of 1834, titled "The Morning Gun," is the work of a composer named Charles Zeuner whose publisher was C. Bradley of Boston, Massachusetts. In addition to these publishers, Casey distributed the music of J. Cole and Son of Baltimore, Maryland, as well as John G. Klemm, Klemm and Bro., Kretchmar and Nunns, and G. E. Blake, all of Philadelphia.

In New York, one of Casey's most interesting business connections was with the firm of James L. Hewitt (1770-1827) of 137 Broadway. Gilbert Chase in America's Music describes Hewitt as "the leading professional musician in New York during the post-Revolutionary period" and "violinist, composer, manager, and publisher."<sup>1</sup> An undated piece originally published by Hewitt and distributed by Casey in New Orleans is "Rose Aileen Ballad" by Thomas Haynes Bayly. It is not known if Casey ever met Hewitt personally, since Casey's known activities did not begin until some years after Hewitt's death.

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<sup>1</sup>Gilbert Chase, America's Music (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), p. 120.

The music that Casey sold, both as publisher and agent, consisted almost exclusively of songs for solo voice with piano accompaniment. Occasional duets, such as William Clifton's "The Last Link is Broken," may be found, but the great majority of Casey's music was for solo voice, and consisted of sentimental songs and romantic ballads. Also very popular in the nineteenth century were vocal arrangements and, frequently, simplifications of favorite opera arias. Occasionally, popular songs were interpolated into operas by local prima donnas. An example of this practice is "Can I My Love Resign," written by J. G. Maeder and distributed by Benjamin Casey. This work is subtitled "as sung in the operas 'Cinderella' and 'Marriage of Figaro.'"<sup>2</sup>

In both publication and distribution, Casey only occasionally handled music which does not fit into the categories of sentimental song, ballad, or opera excerpt. The sacred song "Ruth and Naomi," mentioned above, is representative of such music. Also on the periphery, but at the opposite extreme, is "Always a Dashing Gay Young Fellow," a comic song arranged by W. Hawes and published in New York by E. Riley. The only other noteworthy exception to Casey's limited output is Professor Henry Horn's Rudiments for the Movement Harp. This manual, originally published in Philadelphia by G. E. Blake, survives as one of the very few pedagogic works sold by a New Orleans publisher. The cover of the work advertises the contents as "Exemplified in a Clear and Concise Manner with Forty-Two Exercises for Forming the Hands and the Fingering Marked to which are subjoined Twenty-two Progressive Lessons Construed on pleasing Airs Arranged

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<sup>2</sup>Uncataloged music in the Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.

in the Principal Keys With the Fingering Marked Where Necessary."

Since the great bulk of music sold during the nineteenth century was for solo piano or solo voice, it is interesting to note that comparable teaching texts were not abundant. One can only infer that piano and vocal skills were taught by private teachers who created their own lessons and pedagogic materials.

In summary, Benjamin Casey was a minor publisher and major distributor in New Orleans in the first half of the nineteenth century. While responsible for a steady flow of solo vocal music from publishing firms in northern American cities, publications under his own imprint are rare, and of secondary importance. As a distributor he confined himself almost exclusively to the romantic ballad and popular sentimental song within the genteel tradition of nineteenth-century America.

## CHAPTER V

### MINOR PUBLISHERS AND PUBLICATIONS

The major publishing companies in New Orleans were not the only firms to undertake music publication. Numerous small music stores, individual musicians, and various businesses also underwrote occasional publishing. Their reasons for doing so were quite varied. The Crescent Insurance Company, for example, published sheet music and distributed it as gifts to its customers, with company advertisements printed on front or back covers. Small music stores published some sheet music, and, while the total output of any small establishment may not have been very impressive, the large number of such businesses operating throughout the century created a steady stream of new music.

It was not uncommon for a small music store to begin in the home of a musician. Such was the case with Emile Johns. Another possibility was a joint venture undertaken by a musician and a "fancy goods" merchant in a single establishment. The firm of Tyler and Hewitt operated in this manner from 1850 to 1856. Individual publication of his own music was undertaken by J. Vegas, "Professor of Dancing at Odd Fellows Hall, N. O."<sup>1</sup> Vegas wrote and published "Camelia" in 1857, a piano dance which he dedicated to his pupils. This work was offered "for sale at all the music stores and at Mr. Vegas' Dancing Academy."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Music Collection of New Orleans imprints, Louisiana Room, Louisiana State University Library, Box 5, Item 1, "Camelia" by J. Vegas, 1857.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Publication of the music discussed in this chapter was confined almost exclusively to the second half of the century. Many of the men who undertook the publication, however, were active in New Orleans in the music profession in the first half of the century. Thomas E. Benoit, for example, is listed in an 1841 Directory<sup>3</sup> as owner of a music store on the corner of Chartres and Jefferson Streets. Of the four extant pieces of music published by Benoit, two are dated 1856, the other two are undated. Both dated pieces are by H. E. Lehmann, himself a publisher, and both are piano polkas. The undated pieces consist of a piano march entitled "Louisiana Volunteer's Texan March" and a vocal selection from Meyerbeer's Robert Le Diable. The Louisiana march is dedicated to Trasimon Landry, Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana from 1846 to 1849. The Louisiana volunteers referred to in the title are probably those who fought in Texas in the Mexican - American war of 1846-1848. Publication of other vocal music was probably undertaken by Benoit, for the Meyerbeer selection is listed on the cover page as number eighteen in a series of twenty-two selections from operas.

Benoit also sold in his music store Adolphe Sax's "Methode Complete pour Saxhorn et Saxotromba Soprano Alto Tenor Baryton Basse et Contrabasse a 3, 4, e 5 Cylinders."<sup>4</sup> That portion of this method book which is extant consists of a fingering chart accompanied by instructions in French. The "elements of music" (note values, note names, clefs, scales) are printed on the back cover. No lessons or music are extant, but they may have been

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<sup>3</sup>New Orleans Directory for 1841. N. O.: Michel and Co., 1840, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>Both the saxhorn and the saxotromba were patented by Adolphe Sax in 1845.

included at one time. The title page indicates that this work was originally published in Paris.

Benoit remained in the music business for over twenty years. In Cohen's 1852 New Orleans Directory, his address is changed from 176 Chartres to 78 Chartres. It then remains unchanged until 1858, at which time Benoit is omitted from the directory and Elie and Chassaignac are listed at this address. At this time, Benoit's establishment was evidently bought by A. Elie and Chassaignac. Only one undated piano galop is extant with Elie and Chassaignac listed as publisher; but a series was undertaken, for the front cover of this one work lists three other titles in a series called "Morceaux de Salon."

The partnership of Elie and Chassaignac was very short-lived. By 1859 the 78 Chartres address belonged to Sourdes and Chassaignac and an ink stamp used on their music describes them as "successors to T. E. Benoit." The "Morceaux de Salon" series was continued to at least number seven by this new partnership. In 1859 Sourdes and Chassaignac published "Polka des Chasseurs a Pied, De La Louisians," the only extant piece of their music bearing a date. Undated pieces carrying their stamp include a group of seventeen studies for valve cornet titled "Airs du Pardon."

Although he dissolved his partnership with Chassaignac in 1858, Elie did not leave the music business. He operated a music store at 66 Royal Street in the 1860s and published music under his own name. By 1863 he had already published nine works in a series called "Success Lyriques" and allowed space on the title pages for thirty-one other pieces

to be added. The text of a surviving song, "La Rêve," from this series, is given in French, English, and German. Two piano dances by Basil Bares date from 1866, indicating that Elie's business survived the Civil War. By this time Elie had probably been active in New Orleans' musical life for thirty-four years. The 1832 Directory lists simply "Elie, \_\_\_\_\_ musician, Orleans Theatre."<sup>5</sup> This entry remains unchanged until 1841, and then the change is minor -- the word "musician" is changed to "artist." It is not until 1853 that a first name, Adolphe, is listed, along with and address on Barracks Street.

Publication of city directories seems to have ceased during the Civil War years 1862 to 1864, then resumed again in 1865. At this time Elie is listed at 66 Royal Street, and remains at this location until 1869. Elie's advertisement in the Gardner's City Directory for 1866 lists him as "sole agent for the celebrated Brass Instruments manufactured by Sax, of Paris, and also Depot of Herz and Pleyel Pianos, Musical Instruments of all kinds, Sheet Music & C."<sup>6</sup> This advertisement remained the same through 1868. In 1869 Elie's is listed simply as "Music and Piano Store" with the address change to No. 16 Royal Street.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>The New Orleans Annual Advertiser for 1832, annexed to the City Directory. N. O.: Published by Stephen E. Percy and Company, 1832, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup>Gardner's New Orleans Directory for 1866. N. O.: Compiled and published by Charles Gardner, 1866, p. 171.

<sup>7</sup>Gardner's New Orleans Directory for 1869. N. O.: Compiled and published by Charles Gardner, 1868, p. 147.



Beginning in 1870 the Elie business was listed under Mrs. Marie Elie, the No. 16 Royal Street address remaining unchanged until 1873. The 1871 Directory advertises "M. Elie's New System of Iron Pianos, Pleyel Pianos, Italian and French Strings."<sup>8</sup> In an attempt to expand business, "orders from the country filled by return of mail" was added to the 1872 advertisement.<sup>9</sup> In 1873 the Elie address was again changed, to 151 Canal, and in 1874 this was expanded to include 151 and 153 Canal.

For a short time Armand Blackmar joined forces with Mrs. Elie (see Chapter VIII), for in 1875 his name was added to Mrs. Elie's advertisement. Blackmar's name did not appear with hers other than this one year, however.

In 1879 the address of the Elie establishment changed to 145 Canal Street, and remained the same through 1881. After this period the Elie's evidently closed their own business and began to work for other firms. In 1882 the name Adolphe Elie again appears, after a thirteen year absence, as a clerk for P. Werlein. This entry does not change until 1887, when Mrs. Adolphe Elie is listed as Werlein's clerk. In 1888 Mrs. Elie changed firms and became a clerk for L. Grunewald. This second job was equally short-lived. No listing for Elie, Mr. or Mrs., appears in 1889 or subsequent years. But by this time the name Elie had been part of the music life of New Orleans for over half a century.

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<sup>8</sup>Edwards' Annual Directory to the City of New Orleans for 1871.  
N. O.: Southern Publishing Co., n.d., p. 207

<sup>9</sup>Edwards' Annual Directory to the City of New Orleans for 1872.  
N. O.: Southern Publishing Company, n.d., p. 140.

The partnership of E. A. Tyler and Horatio D. Hewitt<sup>10</sup> began in 1850 at the address of 39 Camp Street. Hewitt was evidently the new-comer to an already established business, for music published by Tyler alone dates back to 1846. Tyler published a great deal of local music, much of it undated, such as "The Louisiana Polka" and "La Belle Creole." He also published "Young Men's Polka" which bears a dedication "to the Belle of the Anniversary Ball at St. Louis Hotel, January 8, 1850." "The Crescent Mazurka," one of the few dated pieces, was written in 1850 and dedicated to "the Ladies of the Crescent City." The title page of this music carries a picture of Tyler's store and a list of seven other works published by Tyler. City directories of the 1850s do not list Tyler as a music store owner, but rather as a dealer in watches and jewelery. But these same directories list H. D. Hewitt at the same address as a dealer in pianofortes and music. Only one piece of music bears the names of both Tyler and Hewitt as publisher. This is the "Eulogy on the Death of Henry Stephen Green," Op. 52, by Theo. von La Hache. This work is dated 1852 and the title page describes Green as "late Leader of the Choir in St. Patrick's Church."<sup>11</sup> After 1850 Hewitt evidently handled the music part of the business at 39 Camp Street for subsequent publications bear his name only.

Hewitt and Tyler carried on their dual business until 1856, when the store was sold to Leon Gabici. Gabici seems to have first entered

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<sup>10</sup>Grandson of James Hewitt, American Composer, 1770-1827.

<sup>11</sup>St. Patrick's is a New Orleans Catholic Church which was founded in 1833.

the music business in New Orleans in 1853. The 1852 Directory has only an address following his name, but in 1853 "professor of music" was added. By 1855 he was associated with the firm of Rectanus and Co. at 172 Royal and by 1856 he had bought this same establishment and advertised as "professor of Music, Bookbinder and Stationer, Importer and Dealer in Pianos and Music; Piano Fortes tuned. He is prepared to recommend professors and teachers of music either for city or country instruction."<sup>12</sup> By 1857 Gabici had bought out Tyler and Hewitt and moved to 39 Camp Street. Extant music published by Gabici in 1857 indicates still another address, 91 Canal Street, but evidently he did not remain at this location long enough for it to appear in directories. Like other establishments of this period Gabici's published music in series. A group of twelve works called "Brilliant Stars" was begun. Numbers one and six of this group of popular ballads are still extant for study.

The position of H. E. Lehmann is unique in the history of New Orleans music publishing in that Lehmann appears to have published no music other than his own arrangements or original compositions. According to city directories, he did not establish a music or publishing business, but was instead a professional musician and leader of orchestras that played for private parties. His name first appears in an 1850 directory as "leader of music," his residence given as 191 St. Ann. His name continued to appear in subsequent directories until 1868. In 1854 "leader of music" was changed in the directory to simply "musician." In 1859 the listing

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<sup>12</sup>Cohen's New Orleans and Southern Directory for 1856. N. O.: Daily Delta Print, 1855, p. 100.

again changed to "musician, Orleans Theatre," indicating stable professional employment. Shortly before the Civil War Lehmann again advertised himself as an orchestra leader for private entertainments. In 1861 his profession is given as "musician, opera house, and leader at private soirees." The Civil War perhaps ended much of the activity which would have provided a musician such as Lehmann with employment. His activity during the war years cannot, at any rate, be determined. When directories were resumed in 1866 and 1867, Lehmann appears again as "musician." Since his address for 1861 and 1866 are the same, 200 St. Ann, one may assume he remained in New Orleans for the duration of the Civil War.

There are twenty-four pieces of music extant which bear Lehmann's name as copyright owner as well as composer or arranger. The only other business establishments whose names appear on the music are: 1) Manouvrier, lithographer at 33 Camp Street, 2) Manouvrier and Snell at the same address, and 3) Wehrmann, engraver at 186 Camp Street. The dates on this music encompass 1851 through 1859, with the middle years of that decade apparently those of greatest activity. Inscriptions on several pieces of this music describe Lehmann as "Leader of the Philharmonic Society" and "artist of the Orleans Theatre." According to Kendall, Lehmann played French horn at the Orleans Theatre. The Philharmonic society referred to on this music may have been either a group of musicians organized by Lehmann for performance at private parties, or a professional organization of New Orleans musicians.

The music by Lehmann which is available consists entirely of pieces for solo piano. All are popular dances, or arrangements of

opera music of Verdi, Meyerbeer, and Albert Grisar (1808-1869). The twenty-four extant pieces comprise only part of Lehmann's total output, however, for on the inside of the title page of one of his 1857 publications, a total of sixty-seven dances by Lehmann is listed. These dances include quadrilles, valse, polkas, polka-schottisches, polka-mazurkas, and "Esmeralds et Santerelles." Included in this list are some of his piano arrangements of the opera composers mentioned above. Music from Il Trovatore (1853) was arranged as a polka-mazurka and published in 1859, and in 1855 and 1856 music from Meyerbeer's De L'Etoile du Nord (1854) was used for a schottische, a waltz and a polka. This piece was dedicated by Lehmann to "son ami L. Moreau Gottschalk." Grisar's Les Amours du Diable (1853) provided Lehmann with material for three more dances in 1856 and 1857-- a polka, polka-mazurka, and schottische. With the exception of the work dedicated to Gottschalk and one other, all of Lehmann's compositions and arrangements are dedicated to various ladies, presumably of New Orleans.

As a composer of original music, Lehmann published music in sets of dances, with twelve dances in each set. The first of these appeared in 1851 with the title "12 Nouvelles Danses." Of this series only a "Mazurka de Salon," titled "Carlsbad," and "Le Bijou Polka" are available. The fifth dance of Lehmann's second series, dated 1853 and entitled "L'Hortensia," is a piano polka and is the only work remaining from this group. The third series by Lehmann was begun in 1854 and carried over into 1855. The first six of this series are extant, numbers five and six having appeared in 1855, the others in 1854.

One piece by Lehmann which is of local interest is the "Pelican Polka" of 1854, a dance piece "executed for the first time in 1853 at the Grand Ball given at the Pelican Club." The members of the club are probably the fifteen men listed on the front cover as the recipients of Lehmann's dedication.

No music of Lehmann's survives from the decade of the 1860s, although he appears to have remained in New Orleans. While Lehmann did not make any major contribution to the publishing business, he does stand out for having published a significant quantity of his own compositions without having ever owned either a music store or publishing concern.

The economic destruction brought by the Civil War disrupted normal commerce in New Orleans for several years. Larger firms survived the war and reconstruction, but the era of the small publisher was largely over. Business became a matter of size and specialization. Other than large enterprises such as Werlein's, Grunewald's, and Blackmar's, and later Hart's, the only company to underwrite significant publication of music in the second half of the century was the Crescent Mutual Insurance Company. As far back as 1852 this company was running advertisements in directories, advertising a capital of half a million dollars. Of the over forty extant pieces of music which bear the company's name, only nine are dated, all 1887. These nine pieces were all printed for the Crescent Company by the Standard Music and Photo Lithography Company of New Orleans, located at 48 Bienville. Standard is also listed as owners of these 1887 copyrights. The majority of the remaining pieces published by Crescent bear no indication of printer or lithographer.

The only exceptions to this are two pieces printed by C. Kummel, also a New Orleans firm.

The owners of the Crescent Company were both ambitious and eclectic in their musical undertakings. No less than twelve series were begun, which, if carried to completion, represented over one hundred and fifteen individual works. Below are listed the series' titles and the number of pieces intended for each as indicated by the title pages of individual extant pieces. It cannot be determined if all of these titles were ever actually published.

Au Revoir.....	20
Boquet of Vocal and Instrumental Music .....	10
Perles et Diamants .....	12
Young Canada .....	12
Dreams of Youth .....	12
Four Seasons .....	10
Favorite Musical Compositions .....	(unspecified)
Popular Collection of Vocal Music .....	10
Collection of Sacred Music .....	10
Compositions of L. Streabbog .....	7
Roses and Thorns .....	20
Magnolia - Collection of Instrumental Music .	(unspecified)

Some incongruities arise within some of these series. "Mexican Serenade," for example, is in the "Young Canada" series. In the "Roses and Thorns" series, "To Soy Tu Prequito?" is translated to "I Am Your Little Nigger!" The "Roses and Thorns" series was yet another attempt to capitalize on the Mexican band craze of the mid-1880s. A "Mexican Band Tambourine Solo" is called for in "Ole," one of the piano pieces in this series. The difference between a "Mexican Band" tambourine and any other kind is not explained.

The Crescent series which was the most consistent, at least in its titles, was that of L. Streabbog. Streabbog had a penchant for "fairy"

titles. Five of the seven works in his series remain; "Little Fairy Mazurka," "Little Fairy March," "Little Fairy Galop," "Little Fairy Schottische," and "Little Fairy Waltz." One may surmise that New Orleans fairies were accomplished terpsichoreans.

One piece of music published by the Crescent Company which is of special historical interest is the "Heroes' March," dedicated to Albert Sidney Johnston and written by W. Dequede. The title page states that the work was "written expressly for the unveiling of the statue of General Albert Sidney Johnston, April 6, 1887." Johnston's birth and death dates are also on the title page, as well as a list of all of his battles. Johnston was a Confederate General who was killed in the battle of Shiloh on April 6, 1862. The statue, dedicated exactly twenty-five years after his death, is presently atop a mound which serves as a crypt for the Army of Tennessee. It is located in the Metairie Cemetery of New Orleans.

It is not possible to determine the source of all of the music published by the Crescent Insurance Company, but evidence indicates a business connection with the firm of Junius Hart (see Chapter X). At least one piece of music, the "Maria Mazurka" by Francisco J. Navarro is common to both companies. Neither publication bears a date. Hart's issue is subtitled "Souvenir de la Bande Militaire Mexicane" while the Crescent issue is part of the "Au Revoir" series. The only distinctions between the two pieces, other than the title pages, are the identifying numbers and name of Madame Henri Wehrmann, engraver, on the Hart publication. These do not appear on the Crescent publication, although the plates appear to be the same in every other respect.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE WEHRMANNS

The Wehrmann family played a vital role in music publishing in nineteenth-century New Orleans. As lithographers, engravers, printers, composers, performers, and teachers, they were in contact with, and contributed significantly to all aspects of New Orleans' musical life. In addition to the music published by the Wehrmanns themselves, hundreds of pieces of sheet music published by other major firms bear the Wehrmann name as engraver, lithographer, or printer. Henry Wehrmann, Jr., became a well-known local composer and performer in the last decade of the century and was published by Grunewald, Hart, and Werlein, as well as by his own family's business.

According to John Smith Kendall, the Wehrmanns came to the United States from Paris in 1849. Kendall also states that it was Mrs. Wehrmann, Charlotte Marie Clementine, who was the trained engraver and Mr. Wehrmann who ran the printing press. The Wehrmanns are not listed in city directories, however, until 1852, and then only Henry Wehrmann is listed, as music engraver and printer. Mrs. Wehrmann's name does not appear in future directories. But there is some evidence to support Kendall's statements. A work of 1851 entitled "La Pauline Waltz" was engraved for William T. Mayo by "Mme Wehrmann." Another work for Mayo, the "Eclipse Polka," was printed in 1852 and has simply "Wehrmann, eng." at the end of the music. One piece printed for the Lehmanns in 1853, and several for Werleins from the early and mid-1850s indicate that

the Wehrmanns operated a successful business establishment as printers and engravers before they began publication under their own name.

The earliest extant piece which was both printed and published by the Wehrmanns was the "Naomi Polka" by Mrs. A. G. Warner. This work was dedicated to "the young ladies of New Orleans" by the composer, and is the only extant piece published by the Wehrmanns in the decade of the 1850s. Nothing survives from the Civil War years, but the Wehrmanns probably remained in business. They are listed in 1861 and 1866 directories at the same address, 142 Burgundy. Directories from 1862, 63, and 64 are not extant, and the Duncan Business Directory for 1865 does not list the Wehrmanns.

From the decade of the 1860s, three pieces published by the Wehrmanns are extant, a schottische, waltz, and polka, all for piano. The waltz was part of a series by J. C. Viereck entitled "Fairy Bells."<sup>1</sup> In 1869 H. Wehrmann is listed as lithographer and printer, rather than engraver and printer. That same year the address is changed from 142 Burgundy to 127 St. Peter.

In 1870 the name Hermann Wehrmann appears for the first time, listed as lithographer at 127 St. Peter. Henry is also listed at this same address, as printer and lithographer. The year 1870 is the only one for which a common address is listed, however, for in subsequent directories Hermann and Henry maintain different business addresses, although both remain in the printing business.

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<sup>1</sup>This same series appears again in the Junius Hart Catalog of 1888.

It cannot definitely be determined which of the Wehrmanns published the four pieces extant from the 1870s. Only one of them, "Merry Fifty," a piano piece by Basil Bares, dated 1873, carries the name Henri Wehrmann. The others simply list Wehrmann or H. Wehrmann as publisher and copyright owner. This piece by Bares was part of a series called "Album Choregraphique pour Piano." The cover page lists thirty-three titles, largely the work of local composers. It is not known if all of these titles actually saw publication.

The other works published by Wehrmann in the 1870s were of local or historical interest. In 1872 the "Mignonette Schottische" was dedicated by the composer, Auguste Davis, to the Mignonette Club of New Orleans. In 1873 "Les Varietes Americaines" was written by Davis "in honor of the Fusion of the Boston and Chalmet Clubs," two social clubs of New Orleans. In 1876, the year of America's centennial, Narcisco Martinez wrote "Centennial Varieties," a group of five short dances. This piece, like "La Pauline Waltz," was engraved by "Mme Wehrmann."

As the century progressed the Wehrmann establishment published successively larger amounts of music, and began publication of the music of their son, Henry Wehrmann, Jr. Of the sixteen pieces extant from the decade of the 1880s, eleven are by Henry, Jr. A collection of piano music entitled "Southern Stars," which appeared under the Wehrmann copyright in this same period, gives further evidence of the younger Wehrmann's large output. Of the thirty-seven pieces listed on the title page, eleven are by Henry Wehrmann, Jr. Up to this time, all of the music composed by Wehrmann, as well as all of the other music published by members of his family, was music for solo piano, and limited to

popular dance types. This pattern continued through the end of the century with only a handful of exceptions.

In the 1880s, three more members of the Wehrmann family began working in New Orleans. In 1883 Mrs. Henrietta Wehrmann is listed in the city directory as a dealer in guns. The address given is 75 Chartres, the same address as Hermann Wehrmann's private residence. Henrietta was apparently Hermann's wife and maintained a gun shop in their home while her husband carried on his lithography business in the same block, at 71 Chartres. This listing for Henrietta as a gun dealer remained the same until 1893, at which time she is listed as a lithographer. For the last seven years of the century both Hermann and Henrietta are listed as lithographers at the same address.

The second new Wehrmann to appear in the 1880s was Clement Wehrmann. His name appears in 1887 as printer, address 127 St. Peter. This is the same address listed for Henry Wehrmann, engraver. While Henry and Clement operated at 127 St. Peter, Hermann formed a partnership in that same year with O. V. Greend, a zinc-lithographer. Their establishment was at 48 Bienville. In the year 1888, yet another Wehrmann name made its appearance. Adolphe Wehrmann was entered in the directory as a clerk, his residence given as 75 Chartres. Since this was the residence of Hermann and Henrietta Wehrmann, one may assume that he was related, possibly their son. It is not known if Adolphe was a clerk for either of the Wehrmann businesses. After the 1888 entry, his name drops from the directories and is not listed again for eleven years. When relisted, in 1899, his occu-

pation is given as lithographer for Mrs. Henrietta Wehrmann. His private residence is at this time, however, different from other members of the family.

The partnership of Hermann Wehrmann and O. V. Greend lasted from 1887 to 1889. In 1889 August Delord is listed as Wehrmann's partner, rather than Greend. The Wehrmann-Delord partnership continued through the end of the century. From 1889 to 1893 their occupation is given as printers, their address as 101 Camp Street. In 1894 the address is changed to 96 Camp Street, and in 1895 to 420 Camp Street. It then remained stable through the end of the century.

Many of the titles and dedications of the music published by the Wehrmanns in the 1880s are of historical interest, and reveal interesting aspects of life in New Orleans at this time. Members of the music establishment in the city were obviously in close touch with one another socially and professionally. Henry Wehrmann, Jr.'s, "Moonlight Waltz" of 1888 is dedicated to Willie N. Grunewald, member of the Grunewald family which also operated a publishing business. (see Chapter IX). Another of Henry, Jr.'s, works, the "Newport Waltz" (1888), is subtitled "A New Dance," with instructions for the performance of the dance at the end of the music. One of the Wehrmann's works from 1888, "Danse des Naims-Naims," carries on the title page pictures of blackface performers, indicating the popularity of minstrel shows in the later part of the century. Entertainment at West End, a resort area on the southwest shore of Lake Ponchartrain included V. Buot's "Polka des Pinsons" which was "Played with immense success

by the West End Military Band" in 1888. In this same year, a work titled "Angels' Dream Waltz" by Henry Wehrmann, Jr., was published by the Wehrmanns. This particular piece was dedicated "To the Gounoud [sic] Circle of New Orleans" and carried on the title page a picture of Wehrmann. This waltz was part of a series called "Compositions of Henry Wehrmann." Twenty-seven titles in the series are listed on this title page.

On the title page of Wehrmann's "Cotton Palace Polka" of 1889 appears a lithography of an imposing structure, evidently the Cotton Palace. This piano polka is dedicated by Wehrmann "to the Ladies of the Cotton Palace Aid Society," another of the many social organizations active in New Orleans at this time.

Of the thirty-eight pieces published by the Wehrmann family in the 1890s, thirty-five are by Henry Wehrmann, Jr. The younger Wehrmann had by this time become a well-known composer and performer in New Orleans. A contemporary biographical article, published in 1896 by May Mount, states that Wehrmann was at that time a violinist at Trinity Church, New Orleans. He had studied the violin since age nine and had received instruction in Paris in 1889. Unfortunately, his date of birth is not given by Mount. This article further states that by 1896 Wehrmann had composed over seventy pieces, twelve of which were for violin. Since none of this violin music is extant, it is possible that it was never published, but was used by Wehrmann at his own performances. In addition to his work as a church musician, Wehrmann was leader of the Wehrmann Trio which played occasionally at New Orleans concerts. Mount

states that Wehrmann's music was "played with great success" by the Mexican Band at the Cotton Exposition of 1884-85. Wehrmann had arranged this music for forty-five different instruments from his piano scores.<sup>2</sup>

The large amount of music composed and published by Wehrmann during the 1890s is perhaps most interesting for the variety of groups and individuals to whom these pieces are dedicated. Several pieces are dedicated to young ladies of New Orleans. The "American March" of 1892 is dedicated to the American Athletic Club of New Orleans, the "Pickwick Club March" (1892), to the Pickwick Club, and the "Carnival March" (1894), to the Music Society of the Atlanteans. Also in 1894, Wehrmann dedicated the "Little Boys in Red" to the "National Lancers of Boston on their visit to New Orleans, February 6, 1894." In a lighter vein, the "Hoo-Hoo March" of 1894 is dedicated "to the Concatenated Order of Hoo-Hoo," one of the many carnival marching groups of New Orleans. Other organizations and institutions to which Wehrmann dedicated music included the Fourth Battalion of the Louisiana State National Guard. The "Fourth Battalion March" (1895), which was written for this group is another of Wehrmann's works which was played at the West End concerts, this one "by the Bellstedt and Paoletti Military Bands." Wehrmann's "Tulane Yorke" (1897), is dedicated to the students of Tulane University and the cover sheet is printed in the school's green and blue colors. The "Press Club March" (1897), was written for the New Orleans Press Club.

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<sup>2</sup>May Mount, Some Notables of New Orleans, (New Orleans: May Mount, 1896), p. 92.

Military and political affairs were also included in Wehrmann's numerous dedications. "Manila," a "patriotic song and chorus" of 1898, is dedicated "to the Heroes of Manila,"<sup>3</sup> and is one of only three extant vocal pieces by Wehrmann. All three of his vocal works date from the 1890s. The "Louisiana Two-Step" of 1899 is dedicated to Andrew R. Blakely, President of the New Orleans Progressive Union, and is another of Wehrmann's solo piano works.

One other individual work by Wehrmann should receive special mention, the "Dazzler Dance," a piano solo of 1892. This work is the only extant piece for which Wehrmann used a pen name, but a thinly disguised one. The work is by H. Namrhew, which is Wehrmann spelled backwards and without one of the "n's."

City directories from the decade of the 1890s indicate that three Wehrmann establishments remained stable through the end of the century. Clement Wehrmann, in the partnership of Wehrmann and Delord, printers, operated at 420 Camp Street. Hermann Wehrmann and his wife, Henrietta, were both listed as lithographers at 327 Chartres. In 1893 Henrietta changed her listed occupation from dealer in guns to lithographer and it then remained the same for the rest of the century. Henry Wehrmann, Sr., is listed throughout the 1890s as either music printer or engraver at 935 St. Peter, with the exception of 1893, when he sold birds instead of music. Henry Wehrmann, Jr., held a variety of positions in the 1890s.

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<sup>3</sup>The battle of Manila Bay (1898) in which U. S. Naval forces led by Admiral Dewey routed the Spanish Navy.



In 1892 he was listed as a music teacher, and from 1893 to 1895 as a member of Professor Pilcher's Studio of Music. In 1896 Wehrmann became a private teacher again. From 1897 to 1905, he was a teacher for the Home Institute at 1446 Camp Street.

The name Frederick Wehrmann appears in city directories for the first time in 1895. At this time he is listed as a lithographer at the same address as Hermann and Henrietta Wehrmann. The years 1895 and 1897 are the only two years in the nineteenth century in which Frederick's name appears in directories.

In 1899 the name Adolphe Wehrmann appears again, as a lithographer for the Wehrmanns. Directories from the first decade of the twentieth century reveal that Frederick and Adolphe were sons of Hermann and Henrietta Wehrmann and carried on the business after their parents' retirement.

The Wehrmann family was throughout the second half of the nineteenth century one of the most active in the musical life of New Orleans, particularly the music publishing business. Various members of the family were responsible for much of the engraving, lithography, and printing of music published by New Orleans establishments. In addition, the Wehrmanns undertook publication under their own name. Henry Wehrmann, Jr., son of the first Wehrmanns to settle in New Orleans, became a well known teacher and performer in addition to having many of his original compositions published. Various other family members began their own businesses in New Orleans, also as printers and lithographers, and continued operating into the twentieth century.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE WERLEIN ESTABLISHMENT

The first large publishing concern to flourish in New Orleans in the second half of the nineteenth century was founded by Philip Peter Werlein. Born in Rheinkreis, Bavaria, in 1812, Werlein was the son of a professor at the University of Bonn.<sup>1</sup> His formal education as a young man was in the field of music, and by the time he emigrated to the United States, in 1830, he was an accomplished pianist. Werlein first settled in Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he taught music. From there he went to Clinton, Mississippi, to accept a position as head of the music department of the "Female Seminary."<sup>2</sup> In 1842 he first entered the music business as a merchant by returning to Vicksburg and opening a music store.

Sometime in the early 1850s, Werlein came to New Orleans and entered into business with L. C. Ashbrand. Werlein is first listed in the Directory of 1853, as a partner in the music firm of Ashbrand and Werlein, located at 93 Camp Street. The firm did not last into the following year, however, for in 1854 Werlein went into business on his own by purchasing the establishment of William T. Mayo (see

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<sup>1</sup>Biographical information about the Werleins was obtained from the 1935 edition of the National Cyclopedia of American Biography, Volume 24, p. 430.

<sup>2</sup>ibid.

Chapter III) at 5 and 7 Camp Street. For the years 1855 through 1857, Werlein's address is given only as No. 5 Camp Street. In 1858 this is changed to No. 3 Camp Street, and changed yet again in 1859 back to No. 5 Camp Street. These listings perhaps indicate that Werlein moved his establishment, but they may more likely indicate a lack of concern on the part of directory publishers for exact information.

In 1860 Werlein expanded his business to include a Canal Street store; 97 Canal Street is listed, in addition to 3 and 5 Camp Street. By the following year, 1861, the Canal Street address changed to No. 172, while the 3 and 5 Camp Street address remained the same.

When the Union army occupied New Orleans in 1862, all citizens were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Federal government. Werlein refused to take this oath. Instead, he closed his business and moved to New Iberia, Louisiana, where he remained in forced retirement until the cessation of hostilities.<sup>3</sup> Directory listings do not again carry Werlein as a music merchant until 1867, when his address is given as 82 Baronne Street. He had probably returned to New Orleans before then, however, for the 1866 Directory lists a P. P. Werlein as the owner of a grocery in that year.

After the Civil War, Philip Werlein turned over active management of his business to his son, Philip Werlein II, born in 1847 to the marriage of Philip Werlein and Margaret Halsey of New York in 1846.

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<sup>3</sup>It is not known whether Blackmar (see Chapter VIII) ever took this oath. He perhaps took the oath and then ignored it, and continued publication of patriotic Confederate music.

Philip Werlein II was the first of four children. The other three children were named Lillia, Shepherd Halsey, and Mary. Philip Werlein died in April of 1885. Philip Werlein II remained the acting head of the family business until his own death in 1899. In that year, Philip Werlein III assumed his father's position and remained President of the company until his death in 1917. Directory listings from the years after the Civil War do not distinguish between Philip Werlein and Philip Werlein II. Listings read simply "Werlein, Philip," and list the firm's address.

In 1869 the Werlein establishment expanded to include No. 80, as well as No. 82, Baronne Street. By 1870, the firm of Werlein was advertising heavily with full-page promotions within the Directory and a large advertisement on its front cover. This method of advertising was continued by the family in most of the subsequent city directories.

The Werlein firm expanded once again in 1873, this time to include No. 90 in its Baronne Street address. In the following year, yet another number was added to this address, so that the firm's entire listing was 78, 80, 82, and 90 Baronne Street. For the next five years, the business address of the Werlein family remained stable. Then, in 1878, the business was moved to Canal Street once again, this time to No. 135. The Werleins remained at this location for the rest of the century. Directory listings after 1895 give their address as 614 Canal Street. This change, however, was a

result of the renumbering of the city's streets, and does not indicate a change of location.

Hundreds of pieces of sheet music were published by the Werlein family during the second half of the nineteenth century. Extant music, comprising only a fraction of the firm's actual output, carries advertisements for a tremendous number of works which have not survived. In addition to the 168 extant pieces which were published individually, almost a hundred more are contained in two series of journal publications entitled The Song Journal and Werleins's Journal of Music. From The Song Journal series, thirteen numbers are extant, dating from July of 1875 to July of 1876. Since the July, 1875, issue is No. 7 of Volume 5, one may infer that Werlein's first issued this small magazine in January of 1870. The date of the last issue is not known. Each number of The Song Journal contains an editorial, several short articles of local musical interest, some poetry, music reviews from both the United States and Europe, advertisements from music firms in other parts of the country, and from two to six pieces of sheet music, either vocal or piano. The Werlein firm is, of course, heavily advertised in each issue. The price of The Song Journal was one dollar per year, or ten cents an issue.

Only two numbers of Werlein's Journal of Music are extant; Volume III, No. 7 is part of the private collection of Mr. Al Rose

of New Orleans, and Volume I, No. 10 is in the Louisiana Room of the Louisiana State University Library.<sup>4</sup> Volume III, No. 7 is from February of 1887; Volume I, No. 10 from May of 1885. According to the 1885 issue, this Journal was also published monthly. Werlein's Journal of Music contains much the same type of material as The Song Journal of previous years. The one Journal in the Louisiana Room is particularly interesting because its first page is devoted to an obituary of the elder Philip Werlein, who had died of apoplexy the previous month. Due to the small number of extant issues, the dates of publication of the first and last issues of Werlein's Journal are unknown.

Of the 168 extant pieces of sheet music published by Werlein, a total of fifty-two, or almost one third, do not bear a date of copyright or publication. Approximate dates may be determined, however, by comparing the address given on the music to those listed in city directories for each year. The one extant piece, for example, which carries the 93 Camp Street address is "The Attractive German Polka," a piano solo by Robert Meyer which was evidently published in 1853, the only year Werlein and his partner, Ashbrand, maintained this address. Robert Meyer is described on the title page of this polka as "Leader of the Orchestra at Placides Varieties." The Varieties was a theater in New Orleans which was popular prior to the Civil War for its light theatrical entertainment.

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<sup>4</sup>All extant numbers of The Song Journal are in the Louisiana Room of the Louisiana State University Library.

By far the largest number of undated publications by Werlein bear either Nos. 3 and 5 Camp Street as the firm's address, or simply No. 5 Camp Street. Music with these addresses could have been published anytime between 1854, when Werlein first bought Mayo's establishment, and 1862, the last year of the War during which Werlein published. Thirty-seven pieces, twenty-three vocal and fourteen for piano were published with these addresses. They include a wide variety of popular dances and ballads. It is interesting to note that none of these undated works express Southern sentiment, and that only one, "La Belle Louisiainaise," a piano schottische, refers to Louisiana.

Only four undated works are extant which carry a Baronne Street address, either No. 80, No. 82, or Nos. 78, 80, 82, and 90 Baronne. These addresses place such works in the decade between 1867 and 1877, before the Werleins moved to Canal Street. Two of the vocal ballads in this group are from the "Gems of German Song," a title used during this period by both Werlein and Grunewald (see Chapter IX).

The Werleins maintained their 135 Canal Street address from 1878 through 1896. From this period, seven undated works are extant, and one thematic list of songs published by Werlein's. One of the works is "The Louisiana Field Artillery Quickstep," subtitled "Beanham's Battery." This work is doubly interesting because of its reference in the title to Louisiana, and because it is one of the few pieces extant from this period which was arranged for piano,

four-hands. The arranger was A. Smith, the composer Morgan G. Kennedy.

The Thematic List of Songs Suitable for All Occasions is a listing of the opening measures of a large number of vocal pieces published by Werlein. The individual excerpts bear copyright dates from the years 1870 to 1893. They are divided into groups such as "Minstrel Songs," "New Tenor Songs," "Banjo Songs," "Refined Ballads," etc. This list therefore gives a good overview of Werlein's vocal publications from these years.

Of the 113 pieces published by Werlein which carry copyright dates, twenty-five are from the decade of the 1850s. Of these, several bear copyrights prior to 1853, the year Werlein first entered into business with Ashbrand. Two of these early copyrights were originally owned by William F. Mayo, indicating that Werlein bought such copyrights when he purchased Mayo's business in 1854. One of the most interesting works from the early years of the decade is "The Young Couple Polka" of 1853. The title page states that this piano work was "Composed by C. Cook, Caught by Ear, and Arranged for Piano by Robert Meyer," mentioned above. Copyright laws of the 1850s evidently did not provide penalties for "catching" music by ear and arranging it for resale.

"Polka de la Nouvelle Orleans" dates from 1855 and is a piano work by Charles Mueller dedicated to L. M. Gottschalk. Other interesting dedications from 1855 include the "National Guard Polka" by V. G. Gerber of New Orleans, dedicated to Company G of the National Guard and arranged for piano, four-hands. The "Quacker



City Schottische" by W. G. Dietrich is also from 1855 and is dedicated to Captain R. W. Schufeldt and the stockholders of the steamer Quacker City. "The War Song of the Natives" is a vocal publication from 1855 for which words were supplied by "P. W. C." and music by "Miss L. C.," both "Creoles of the City of New Orleans."

From 1856 comes "Bluff City Polka," Op. 18, of Edward O. Eaton, a composer who also wrote many works for the Blackmar brothers (see Chapter VIII). This piano polka is dedicated "to the ladies of Natchez," a Mississippi city famous for its high bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River. The Mississippi is also mentioned indirectly in "The Bell Crevasse," a piano mazurka of 1858 by N. A. Barbe. The title page of this piece depicts a "crevasse." In New Orleans the term "crevasse" referred to an accidental break in the protecting levees along the Mississippi River through which the river would pour, wiping out crops and plantation homes and, in some instances, costing many lives.

In the year 1860, Werlein published "I Wish I Was in Dixie's Land," a song which soon became known as simply "Dixie" and one which came to be synonymous with the South during and after the Civil War. Ironically, the song was actually written by Daniel Decatur Emmett (1815-1904) in 1859 for Dan Bryant's Minstrels of New York. When the song became popular, several editions were issued by various companies. Firth, Pond, and Co. of New York were responsible for the first Northern edition, in 1860, and Werlein's for the first Southern edition in that same year. Werlein's, however, first

credited J. C. Viereck, a local composer, with the music, and only gave Emmett credit in later editions, with Viereck listed as "arranger."<sup>5</sup> According to Richard Harwell, at least nine other southern editions of "Dixie" were published by either Werlein or Blackmar (see Chapter VIII). Included among these is "The Dixie Polka," a piano solo by J. R. Boulcott which uses the melody of Emmett's "Dixie."

Although Philip Werlein left New Orleans after Federal capture of the city, he published many Southern songs in the first years of the war. From 1860 comes the "Washington Artillery Polka," a piano work by Auguste Davis dedicated to Captain J. B. Walton of the Washington Artillery. This unit from New Orleans was part of the Southern forces in the Civil War.

Works which are extant from 1860, 1861, and 1862 were published by Werlein in conjunction with a person named Halsey. Werlein and Halsey are also listed as co-owners of these copyrights. Since no Halsey is listed in city directories during these years as Werlein's partner, it is possible that Werlein had not taken a partner into his business, but had bought copyrights as co-owners with his wife Margaret, whose maiden name was Halsey. During this same time music was published under their joint imprint. Southern music from 1861

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<sup>5</sup>Gilbert Chase, America's Music, 1955, McGraw Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, p. 276.

includes piano works such as "President Jefferson Davis Grand March," by Mrs. Flora Byrna, "Grand March of the Southern Confederacy," by J. E. Gleffer, "Louisiana Grand March," by Mrs. E. B., and "Remembrance of Camp Lewis," by J. Kirschenheuter. No vocal music is extant from this year.

Three Confederate works are extant from 1862, apparently published before Union forces captured New Orleans and demanded the oath of allegiance which Werlein refused to take. The "Potomac Artillery Grand March" of 1862 was written by Adolphus Brown and dedicated "to the Southern Artillerists." An edition of "Maryland! My Maryland!" was also published by Werlein in 1862, the title shortened to "My Maryland!" The poem is James Randall's (see Chapter VIII), but the music for this particular edition is by "P. P. W.," undoubtedly Werlein, and therefore the only extant piece written by him. The "Cantate Militaire" is the last of the three works extant from 1862. It is a vocal work by Leon Prevost. The text is French, and the piano accompaniment is slightly more elaborate than that found with most vocal music of this time. The work is dedicated to the "Zouaves of Louisiana," a military unit modeled after one by the same name in France. No music published by Werlein is extant from 1863 through 1869, although Werlein did reopen his music business in New Orleans after the Civil War.

Music published by Werlein in the decades of the 1870s and 1880s is scarce; only eleven works are extant from the 1870s (other than those found in The Song Journal), and only sixteen survive from the

1880s (other than those in Werlein's Journal of Music). From the 1870s, three vocal works are extant, eight for piano. One of the piano works, however, the "Graziosa Waltz," (1879) by E. Richard, is part of a series called "Choice Compositions for the Piano." In 1879 this series contained fifty-six titles. The fact that only one piece from this series survives vividly illustrates the small proportion of published music which is extant. A vocal work of 1870, C. C. Stearn's "Heavenly Father, God of Love," is part of a series of six religious pieces published by Werlein, titled "C. C. Stearn's Sacred Music." Published religious music was relatively rare in New Orleans.

When, in 1881, President James A. Garfield was assassinated, a flurry of music was dedicated to his memory. Werlein's establishment sold "President James A. Garfield's Grand Funeral March," by E. Mack, originally published in New York in 1881 by S. T. Gordon and Son, and brought south for sale in New Orleans by Werlein. In this same year, 1881, Werlein published "Mardi Gras March," composed by Mrs. Estelle Hayden," and dedicated "to the Christian Woman's Exchange."

The Cotton Exposition of 1884 was exploited by music publishers in New Orleans, particularly Junius Hart (see Chapter X), but seemed to call forth no large amount of publication by Werlein. Only one work from 1884, "The Exposition Waltz," by Thomas V. Steinfelds, is extant to indicate Werlein's involvement in this historic event. And while Hart published reams of "Mexican" music in subsequent years, only "Serenade Boccaccio," arranged from Franz Von Suppe's 1879 opera "Boccaccio," by Madame M. Samuel, indicates any interest on Werlein's

part in this lucrative field. A note on the title page of this piece states that it is presented "as sung[!] and played by the Mexican Military Band at the World's Exposition 1884-85."

Two other pieces from the 1880s are interesting for their dedications. The first, the "Merry Twenty Grand March," (1886), is dedicated by W. J. Voges, the composer, to the Merry Twenty Club of New Orleans, probably a Mardi Gras marching club. The other is the "Ambulance Galop," (1887) by Miss Mamie F. Power. This piano solo is dedicated "to the Surgeons of the Ambulance Corps of New Orleans."

The largest amount of extant music published by Werlein's is from the decade of the 1890s. A total of forty-seven pieces have survived, thirty-one of which are contained in a single volume titled Werlein's Superb Folio No. 1. This collection contains seventeen vocal pieces and fourteen piano solos by a variety of composers. A picture of the Werlein establishment on Canal Street dominates the cover of this volume. It is not known if successive volumes were ever published. Since this one is numbered, it seems likely that others were intended.

One of the most interesting aspects of the music published by Werlein's and other firms in the latter part of the nineteenth century is the variety of dedications appearing on this music. In 1890 J. W. H. Eckert wrote "Palace Waltz" and dedicated it to Philip Werlein, Esq. This is the only extant piece to so honor Werlein. A picture of the Werlein establishment on Canal Street appears on the title page. Eugene E. Boniel wrote the music to "The Girl I Took Along" in 1885. Its dedication reads, "written for the Bicycle Clubs of the United

States and dedicated to the Military Companies of New Orleans."

Other pieces from the 1890s which are of interest include "Little Louisiana Coons," (1899), by Fred Middleton, one of the early minstrel songs published in New Orleans. In 1897 Theodore D. Meyer of Baton Rouge wrote "The L. S. U. Waltz," honoring Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge.

The Werlein establishment will be remembered by historians chiefly as the first southern publisher of "Dixie." Yet even without this claim to musical immortality, the Werlein family would still rank as one of the most important music businesses operating in New Orleans in the second half of the nineteenth century. More of their published music is extant than that of any other firm, implying an original quantity equal to any in the city. As merchants selling music and musical instruments, the Werlein family played an important role in the cultural life of the city, for in this era home entertainment centered around the piano and any available voices.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BLACKMAR BROTHERS

Armand Edward Blackmar was born in Bennington, Vermont, in 1826. From there, the family moved to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1834, where Blackmar spent the remainder of his youth.<sup>1</sup> Upon graduation from Western Reserve College in 1845, Armand moved south, and taught music in Huntsville, Alabama, until 1852. From 1852 to 1855 he was Professor of Music at Centenary College, then located in Jackson, Louisiana. Blackmar's whereabouts are unknown for the years 1855 to 1858. According to his granddaughter, Alicia Blackmar Anderson, he traveled from one plantation to the next, giving lessons in music theory, singing, and piano.

The year 1858 marks Blackmar's first entrance into the music business as a merchant, for in that year he joined E. D. Patton in operating a music store in Vicksburg, Mississippi. In 1859 Armand and his younger brother, Henry Clay Blackmar, bought out Patton's interest and operated the store jointly. In 1860, the Blackmar brothers moved to 74 Camp Street in New Orleans, where they remained until 1864. Although directories are not available for 1862 through 1864, published music carries the 74 Camp Street address from 1861 through 1863. Music from 1864 and later bears 167 Canal Street as

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<sup>1</sup>Biographical information concerning Armand Blackmar was obtained from Richard Harwell's Confederate Music and from conversations with Alicia Blackmar Anderson of New Orleans, granddaughter of Armand Blackmar.

the Blackmar address.

Sometime in 1861, the Blackmar brothers opened a music store in Augusta, Georgia. Much of the music published between 1861 and 1866 bears dual imprints from Blackmar firms in both New Orleans and Augusta. Henry Blackmar operated the Georgia establishment, while Armand continued operations in New Orleans. According to Harwell, the Blackmars had business connections with other Southern cities during this time, for some dual imprints were published in conjunction with John C. Schreiner of Macon, Georgia, and others with the firm of Siegling, in Charleston, South Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

The first Directory listing for the Blackmars in New Orleans appears in 1861, advertising them as "Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Pianos, Music, and Musical Merchandise." The brothers remained in the music business throughout the Civil War, but ran into difficulties in New Orleans when Union forces occupied the city in 1862. From the beginning of the war, Armand had been a particularly vocal and active supporter of the Southern cause, although he was born and reared in the North. Blackmars' publication of patriotic Confederate music far exceeded that of other firms such as Werlein's and Grunewald's, and Armand personally contributed piano arrangements, words, and entire compositions to the Rebel cause. Because of this activity, General

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<sup>2</sup>Richard Harwell, Confederate Music (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 13.



Benjamin Butler, commander of the Union forces occupying New Orleans, had Blackmar arrested. Of particular offense to Northern sentiments was the tremendously popular "Bonnie Blue Flag" of 1861. Blackmar was the original publisher of this rousing song, and was also responsible for several subsequent editions which resulted from the song's immediate and continuing popularity. It was second only to "Dixie," originally published by Werlein, as the South's favorite war song.

Armand was detained in prison for a short time by Butler, and fined five hundred dollars, a large sum for this period. Upon his release, he returned to his store to find that it had been ransacked by Union soldiers, his music, printing plates, and all but a few instruments destroyed. Undaunted, he immediately reopened his business with only those few instruments to sell, and a small amount of music which had been salvaged by loyal friends.

Armand carried his dedication to the South into his private life as well as his business. In 1860 he married Margaret B. Meara, a former governess at one of the plantations at which Blackmar had taught music. Their first child, a girl, was born in 1861, and Armand promptly named her Louisiana Rebel Blackmar. She was called "Lulu" by her family and friends, many of whom never knew of her more fanciful name. Louisiana Rebel, who died in 1938, outlived her brothers and sister; Armand Edward, Jr. (1864-1924), Charles Cushman (1868-1869), and Estelle (1868-1931).

That the Blackmars, particularly Armand, were active throughout the Civil War is evidenced by the published music which has survived,

dating from every year of the war. When directory publication resumed in 1865, the Duncan City Directory lists "Blackmar and Co." at 167 Canal Street. In 1866 Henry is also listed in New Orleans, indicating that the brothers sold the Georgia establishment shortly after the war and concentrated their business in New Orleans. The 167 Canal Street address was maintained by both brothers until 1869. In that year, Henry appears to have opened a separate establishment at 164 Canal Street, while Armand remained listed at 167 Canal Street. By the following year, 1870, the two brothers were again listed at one address, 164 Canal Street. But in this 1870 Directory, Armand is listed as the seller of "music and musical merchandise" while Henry is listed only as Armand's bookkeeper. In 1871 Henry is listed as a clerk in his brother's firm, now located at 200 Canal Street.

During the decade of the 1870s, Armand Blackmar entered into successive partnerships with other merchants, but these partnerships were apparently unsuccessful. According to Alicia Blackmar Anderson, Armand's relationship with his brother also deteriorated, and the two men quarrelled bitterly and broke off all contact with one another. After 1871 Henry is listed as either clerk or bookkeeper, but directories do not specify, as in previous years, that he worked for Armand.

In 1873 Blackmar and Co. was located at 201 Canal Street, the members of the company being Armand Blackmar and Ralph Worthington. This partnership evidently failed, for in 1874 neither Worthington nor Blackmar is listed. In 1875 Blackmar joined forces with Mrs.

Marie Elie (see Chapter V), but this was another brief merger. By 1876 Blackmar had made yet a third change, and was listed as the partner of T. J. Finney at 174 Canal Street. This last partnership also lasted for only one year.

During these years after the Civil War, the economy of the South was devastated, and money for luxuries such as concerts and music lessons was virtually nonexistent. Armand Blackmar, however, considered it his patriotic duty to the South to see that some cultural activity was maintained. He consequently gave free piano lessons to many people who had no money to pay for such lessons, and gave free concerts in conjunction with a violinist named Kaiser. Kaiser also played the philanthropist by giving free instruction on the violin.<sup>3</sup>

There are no directory listings for Armand Blackmar for the years 1877 through 1881. Henry Blackmar is listed, however, as a bookkeeper in 1877, and a piano tuner in 1878. For the years 1879 and 1880, Henry is also unlisted. In 1881 Armand re-entered the music business, this time as a clerk for Philip Werlein (see Chapter VII). He kept this position for four years. Then, in 1885, he once again launched his own establishment, A. E. Blackmar and Co., at 103 Canal Street. His son, Armand Blackmar, Jr., is listed in that year as a junior clerk in his father's firm.

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<sup>3</sup>Conversations with Alicia Blackmar Anderson.

From 1882 through 1885, Henry Blackmar is listed as a music teacher. In 1886, the year after Armand established his own company, Henry also opened a music store, at 199 Canal Street. The Directory listing for Armand Blackmar in 1886 is 202 Canal Street, indicating rival establishments within very close proximity of one another. This situation continued until 1888, when the death of Armand simultaneously ended the rivalry and his business. His son, Armand, Jr., did not carry on his father's business, but instead became a wharfmaster and, later, harbormaster, of the New Basin Canal.<sup>4</sup> In 1895, Armand, Jr., is listed as a practicing lawyer.

Henry Blackmar continued in the music business until 1897, being listed either as a music teacher or dealer in music. In 1898, Henry is listed, but no occupation is given. Subsequent directories carry no listing for Henry Blackmar.

Some information concerning the Blackmar brothers' publishing activities in Augusta, Georgia, during the Civil War can be obtained from extant music in the holdings of the Louisiana Room of the Louisiana State University Library. A bound collection titled Souvenir of the Confederacy contains ninety-one pieces of sheet music, the first seventy-two of which are vocal, the last nineteen for piano. Included in this collection are works published

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<sup>4</sup>Directory listings, 1889 and 1890.

jointly by Blackmar and Bro., 199 Broad Street, Augusta, Georgia, and Blackmar and Co. of New Orleans. Others are published exclusively by the Augusta establishment. Many pieces in this collection carry two copyrights, one registered with the Confederate States of America during the 1861-1864 period, the other with the United States in 1866. The 1866 copyrights are all held by A. E. Blackmar and are entered in the clerk's office of the district court for the eastern district of Louisiana, indicating that they were all reissued to Armand under federal laws after the war.

There is nothing in the Souvenir of the Confederacy volume to indicate that either of the Blackmars was responsible for its binding as a collection. No title page or table of contents is included, and there are no Blackmar advertisements other than those printed on the back covers of individual pieces. The sheets of music in the collection are not of uniform size, and the work of several engravers is represented. Many of the best known Confederate songs are included in this group of Blackmar music. An 1864 edition of "Bonnie Blue Flag" (see above), written by Harry McCarthy and first published by Blackmar in 1861, is the first song in the large group of vocal music. Also included is an edition of "Maryland! My Maryland!," and a Blackmar, 1861, edition of "Dixie," with the music arranged by A. Noir. According to Mr. Vaughn Glasgow of the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans, A. Noir was Armand Blackmar's pseudonym, "noir" being the French word for black.

All three of the works mentioned above went through several editions by Blackmar and other editions by Philip Werlein (see Chapter VII). From 1861 to 1864, the Blackmars alone published six different editions of "Bonnie Blue Flag" and three additional "arrangements."<sup>5</sup> "Maryland! My Maryland!" was published by Blackmar in 1862 with music by "A Lady of Baltimore." On the title page of this Blackmar edition, James Randall, the poet who supplied the text, states: "Having disposed of the copyright of my poem 'Maryland! My Maryland!' to Messrs. A. E. Blackmar and Bro., I hereby certify that their edition is the only one that has my sanction and approval."

Although the great majority of Blackmar's published material consists of music, at least one publication is extant which contains none. This is the Dixie Land Songster, published jointly by Blackmar and Bro. in Augusta, Georgia, and Burke, Boykin, and Co., in Macon, Georgia, in 1863 (see Chapter I). This pocket-sized volume contains the words, but no music, to many of the popular ballads of the Civil War. Such small volumes were often presented as gifts to men going into war.

Two extant publications by Blackmar are noteworthy for their attempts at music pedagogy. The first, copyrighted by Armand in 1866, is called Blackmar's Collection of Southern Melodies. The title page

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<sup>5</sup>Richard Harwell, Confederate Music (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 58.

explains that this volume is one "containing the Rudiments of Music, and Plain Instructions for the Accordeon -- together with a complete collection of the most admired Southern Airs, Marches, Quicksteps, Galops, Polkas, Schottisches, Mazurkas, Waltzes, Dances, Quadrilles, etc., many of which are arranged with a second part so that they can be played as duetts by the addition of another Accordeon, Flute, or Violin." Ninety-seven melodies for the "accordeon" are included in this small volume. None have accompaniment, but many are arranged for duet, as advertised on the cover. The first selection is "Bonnie Blue Flag," apparently Armand Blackmar's favorite Confederate song.

A second pedagogical work by Armand Blackmar is Harmony Simplified and Made Clear, copyrighted in 1888, the year of Armand's death, by Misses L. R. and M. E. Blackmar. This work contains 327 short musical examples in its five chapters: 1) Common Chords, 2) Dominant 7th Chords, 3) Modifications of Sub-Dominant Chords, 4) Modifications of Dominant 7th Chords, and 5) Tones Foreign to Regular Harmony. Armand's years of teaching piano and music theory on plantations and his post-war activities as a teacher were probably the sources and reasons for this work. It is not stated anywhere within this volume if Armand had prepared the work for publication before he died, or if his daughters had gathered this material for publication after his death and published it in his honor.

Other than the music found in Blackmar's two pedagogical works

and the Souvenir of the Confederacy, there are extant eighty-nine pieces of sheet music published by Armand Blackmar, or by the two brothers jointly.<sup>6</sup> Of these, seventeen carry no copyright date or date of publication. Approximate dates of publication can be determined from the Blackmar addresses printed on the title pages of these works. But even this approximation is not possible for two vocal pieces and one for piano. Only "New Orleans" is given as an address on these works. All three of these pieces were published by A. E. Blackmar, or A. E. Blackmar and Co.

Four undated pieces of music, three vocal and one for piano, carry the 74 Camp Street address, indicating publication during the Civil War. Each of the three vocal pieces is a part of a different series. "Let Me Kiss Him For His Mother," by John P. Ordway, is from a series called "The Exotics - Flowers of Song Transplanted to Southern Soil." On the back cover of this work appears: "Dealers and Schools Supplied at Old Northern Rates," and "new music published daily." Eighteen songs are listed as already belonging to the series. A second series, "The Love Songs of All Nations," consists of fifteen songs. The one extant work from this series, is entitled "Juanita," and was composed by Mrs. Norton. "Sweet Love Good Night To Thee," by J. L. Hatton is

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<sup>6</sup>An additional collection of Blackmar music is owned by Christine Miller of New Orleans, a Blackmar descendant. Unfortunately, its existence was discovered by the writer when time did not permit its examination for inclusion in this work.



part of a third series published by Blackmar. The series title is "New and Beautiful Songs Composed by Various Authors." The undated piano solo published from 74 Camp Street is a polka, "Les Fifres de la Gardes," by a composer named Ascher.

Three undated vocal ballads are extant and bear the address 199 Broad Street, Augusta, Georgia. These were also Civil War publications of the Blackmars, originating from the Augusta establishment. The texts of all three express Southern sentiments, or grief over having to leave a loved one and go off to war.

The remaining undated publications were published from addresses occupied by the Blackmars in the years after the Civil War. One hundred sixty-seven Canal Street was the listed address for the brothers from 1865 through 1869. Five undated works bear this address. These include members of series such as "Blackmar and Bro.'s Selection of Favorite Songs," a series of twenty-six pieces, and "Blackmar and Bro.'s Selection of Favorite Polkas and Schottisches," a group of twenty-seven piano solos.

Only one undated work is extant from the 164 Canal Street address occupied by the Blackmars from 1869 through 1871. This is "Martha," a piano fantasy by Ferdinand Beyer. It is one of eight such works by Beyer, all based on music from operas.

"Love Launched A Fairy Boat" is an undated work copyrighted by A. E. Blackmar and published when his business address was 201 Canal Street. This was the year 1873, when Armand had formed a partnership

with Ralph Worthington. The series to which this piece belongs is entitled "The Favorites: A Selection of Songs and Ballads by Various Authors." Twenty-two songs are listed as belonging to the series at that time. The same series title was also used by Philip Werlein (see Chapter VII) during this period, but there is no indication of who owned the original copyright, if there ever was one, to the series title.

The sixty-three Blackmar publications extant from the decade of the 1860s contain a virtual anthology of Confederate war songs and sentimental ballads. In addition to "Bonnie Blue Flag" and "Maryland! My Maryland!," discussed above, the Blackmars published numerous other popular songs, many of which refer in the title or text to the city of New Orleans or to New Orleans' organizations. The "Orleans Cadets Quick Step," by Edward O. Eaton, was copyrighted in 1861, as was the "New Orleans Military Polka," by G. Minieri.

Southern heroes were often honored in the music of the Civil War. General P. G. T. Beauregard, one of the most popular Confederate generals, was remembered in the "General Beauregard Grand March" of 1861, a piano work by Mrs. V. G. Cowdin, and in "The Beauregard Manassas Quickstep," also of 1861, by Armand Blackmar writing under the name A. Noir. The battle of Manassas was one of the early Confederate victories in the war, and Beauregard was a Rebel hero of that conflict.

"Our First President," (1861), a piano quickstep by P. Rivinac, features a picture of Jefferson Davis on the title page, lest the

buyer mistake George Washington for the honoree. Another popular war song published by A. E. Blackmar and Bro. in 1861 is "Southron's Watchword," subtitled "The Grave of A Hero, Or Victory." This piece was originally an English song by Stephen Glover with the text referring to the Crimean War. It was adapted to Southern sentiments by M. F. Bigney for the Blackmars.

From the year 1862, two vocal pieces are extant, one a popular ballad, the other an edition of "Maryland! My Maryland!," discussed above. In the following year, 1863, General Andrew Jackson was honored by "Stonewall Jackson's Grand March," a piano work by Charles Young. Young is advertised on the cover as the composer of the "General Robert E. Lee Quickstep."

Not all of Blackmar's publications during the war years were expressions of Confederate patriotism. Throughout the war the brothers published, as did other firms, numerous popular dances for piano and many sentimental ballads which did not refer to the war in progress. "La Rosalia," for instance, by Theodore von La Hache, was published in 1864 as one of "A Selection of Favorite and Fashionable Quadrilles," a series of eleven such dances. But the Blackmars', and particularly Armand Blackmar's historical significance does lie in the area of Confederate publications.

In 1864, Charles Young wrote a second tribute to General Jackson entitled "Stonewall Jackson's Way," a march for piano. Edward O. Eaton, composer of many songs for the Blackmars, wrote in this same year the "Camp-Fire Song," dedicated to "Captain Charles E. Fenner of

Fenner's Louisiana Battery." "My Southern Sunny Home," by Will S. Hays, was another popular ballad from 1864. It went through several subsequent editions. Two editions by Blackmar are extant.

One other work from 1864 deserves special attention. It is "For Bales," or, "An O'er True Tale." No composer is given, perhaps because the piece is a song harshly satirizing the Union's unsuccessful Red River campaign in Louisiana, led by General Banks of the Union army, and defeated by the troops of Taylor and Smith of the South.

After hostilities ceased between the North and South in 1865, less demand for music expressing fervent patriotism was apparent. Of the nine Blackmar pieces extant from this year, only one, "Wearing of the Grey," makes any reference to the war or the Confederacy. It is an adaption of "Wearing of the Green" and was arranged by "Armand," undoubtedly Blackmar, who was perhaps reluctant to give up the struggle.

The cessation of hostilities did not entirely halt new publication of music which had been popular during the war. In 1866, Blackmar published a set of variations on "Bonnie Blue Flag" written by A. Cardona. Advertised on the title page are three other works based on this song which were also available at Blackmar's; a second set of variations by Schlesinger, an improvisation by La Hache, and a piano transcription by Baumbach. Perhaps Blackmar's only acknowledgement of the defeat of the South was his publication of "The Conquered Banner" in 1866 by Theodore von La Hache. The

Confederate flag figures prominently on the title page.

The composer Baumbach, mentioned above, apparently specialized in piano transcriptions of popular vocal pieces. In 1866, Blackmar published both "Oh! Ye Tears!," a ballad by Franz Abt (1819-1885), and a piano transcription of the same piece by Baumbach.

Extant Blackmar publications of 1867, 1868, and 1869 are all popular ballads or piano solos. At least one selection from the series "Album Choreographique" was published in 1867, the "Setta Mazurka," by A. Davis, dedicated to Miss Setta Liebman. The firms of Grunewald and Werlein also published under this same series title.

An interesting piece published by Blackmar in 1869 is the "Velocipede Galop," a piano solo by "S. Low Coach" which was dedicated to "Ed. B. Loring, Esq. of the New Orleans School of the Velocipede." The velocipede was an early form of the modern bicycle, and one which required considerable balance on the part of the rider. Other than the title, no obvious connection exists between the piano dance music and operation of the vehicle.

Of the five extant pieces from the 1870s, four are piano solos, the fifth is a popular ballad. One of the piano solos, a polka-march, is entitled "Mardi Gras," in honor of New Orleans' famous pre-Lenten celebration. The work is by Charles Young.

Armand Blackmar is listed in the 1884 Directory as a clerk for Philip Werlein, but he evidently continued to buy copyrights and publish some music on his own. Three piano pieces from 1884 were copyrighted by him. Two of these are parts of a five-work series

titled "Creole Music for Piano," by Basil Bares. They are "Mardi Gras Reminiscences," and "La Louisiainaise Valse," both piano waltzes. Nothing in these pieces stands out as apparently "Creole" other than the titles.

Only a few of the copyrights published by either or both of the Blackmar brothers were owned by Henry Blackmar. The older brother, Armand, owned the great majority of them, and was always listed as the senior partner in the firm. When the two brothers broke off business and personal relations, Armand continued to publish, but Henry apparently did not. The only extant work which specifically names Henry Blackmar as publisher is "La Morena," a piano solo by C. (Cecile) Chaminade (1857-1944) which Henry published in 1895, seven years after Armand's death. Although Henry is last listed as a "music dealer" in 1893, he continued to be listed as a "music teacher" through 1897. There is nothing printed on the title page of this work to indicate previous or subsequent publication of other music by Henry Blackmar.

The arrival of the Blackmar brothers in New Orleans coincided roughly with the start of the Civil War. The elder brother, Armand, was by all indications a rabid Southern patriot, and one who underwent imprisonment and harassment for his beliefs. The Blackmar firm was responsible for publication of many Confederate songs, "Maryland! My Maryland!" and "Bonnie Blue Flag" being the most famous to appear under the Blackmar name. In addition to Southern music, the Blackmars

published, as did other establishments, numerous popular ballads and piano solos. After the 1860s, publication by the Blackmars declined sharply, if extant music is a valid indicator. After Armand Blackmar's death, publication apparently ceased entirely, with the exception of the one work published in 1895 by Henry Blackmar.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE GRUNEWALD ESTABLISHMENT

In 1858 Louis Grunewald opened a very small music store on Magazine Street in New Orleans. Before the century was over, his business interests and those of his family had expanded to include music publication; the sale of pianos, organs, and other instruments; an opera house; a hotel; an instrument factory; a land improvement company; and a motor company. Music publishing was therefore only a part of what May Mount describes as a "gigantic family establishment."<sup>1</sup> One hundred and eighty-six pieces of music published by Grunewald are extant, and various surviving advertisements and lists of titles intended for publication indicate that the Grunewald publishing business was one of the most extensive ever to operate in New Orleans. Besides Louis Grunewald, Sr., nine other members of the family were involved in the music trade in the course of the century as clerks, cashiers, managers, and holders of various offices in the family corporation.

Louis Grunewald, Sr., immigrated to New Orleans from Hohenhofen, Germany, in 1852, when he was twenty-three years old. Upon arriving in New Orleans, Grunewald obtained work as organist at Catholic churches in the city. At various times he worked at St. Patrick's, St. Mary's, and St. Alphonsus.<sup>2</sup> By 1858 he had accumulated enough capital to open a

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<sup>1</sup>May Mount, Some Notables of New Orleans, (New Orleans: May Mount, 1896), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup>Undated newspaper clippings in family scrapbooks of Mrs. Jane Louise Grunewald Clemenceau and Mrs. Margaret Grunewald Black.



one-room music store on Magazine Street. He is listed for the first time in the city directory of 1858 as "Gruenewald, Louis, music, Magazine n. St. Mary."<sup>3</sup> This first Grunewald store was only large enough to hold five pianos, and was perhaps the reason Grunewald moved immediately. By 1859 his address was 214 Constance Street where he remained for two years. In 1861 he moved again, this time to 26 Chartres Street where, according to clippings in family scrapbooks and personal accounts of his descendants, he remained through most of the Civil War. Grunewald's was one of the few music establishments to continue in operation throughout the war. By 1865 Grunewald had moved again, this time to 129 Canal Street. This Canal Street address was maintained until 1876 and served as the main business outlet for the sale of sheet music, pianos, organs, and other instruments. In addition to this store on Canal Street, Grunewald invested in property on nearby Baronne Street, and in 1874 opened a large four-story building which was subsequently advertised as Grunewald Hall or Grunewald Opera House. The address of this establishment was 18, 20, and 22 Baronne Street from 1874 to 1893, when the building was destroyed by fire. An undated article from a trade journal, the Musical Critic and Trade Review<sup>4</sup> gives a detailed description of Grunewald Hall as it appeared in its heyday. On the ground floor were "the largest piano warerooms in the world." The second floor contained two concert halls. The larger of these could seat over one thousand, the smaller, three hundred. Separating these two large halls was a third which served as a dining area

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<sup>3</sup>This spelling of his name, with two "e's," continued until 1861, when the first "e" was dropped.

<sup>4</sup>Located in family scrapbooks.

and had a capacity of four hundred. The third floor of Grunewald Hall was divided into large rooms which were leased to various clubs and lodges of New Orleans. The fourth floor was used for janitorial and storage space. When fire destroyed this elaborate structure in 1893, it was rebuilt as Grunewald Hotel. This hotel operated into the twentieth century and was, like other Grunewald concerns, a flourishing enterprise. When, in 1895, the street addresses in New Orleans were re-organized and re-numbered, the hotel's address became 121 to 129 Baronne.

For the years 1876 through 1880, the Grunewalds did not have a store on Canal Street, but operated exclusively from Grunewald Hall. In 1881 they returned to Canal Street, this time at 127 Canal. This address remained the same until 1895, when it was changed to 715 Canal Street.

The Louis Grunewald who opened a one-room shop in 1858 did not manage the large establishment of the 1880s and 1890s alone. In 1854 he had married Marie Louise Schindler, originally from Lauterbach, Germany. The Grunewalds had six sons; William, Clifford, Louis, Jr., Theodore, Walter, Rene, and one daughter, Louise.<sup>5</sup> Another Grunewald, named Julius, appears in directories from 1870 to 1874, and may have been another son, or some other near relation, but surviving family members have no record of him. Julius is listed in these directories as a clerk for Louis Grunewald.

The known sons and daughter of Louis Grunewald, Sr., and Marie Schindler all became involved in the family establishment at one time or another. William, the eldest son, was born in 1857 and entered his

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<sup>5</sup>No documentation is extant of the daughter's first name. Mrs. Black and Mrs. Clemenceau supplied this information.

father's business as a clerk in 1876. In 1879 his brother Clifford also became a Grunewald clerk. Clifford in turn was followed by Louis, Jr., in 1881. This was the same year William Grunewald took over active management of the family business, although Louis, Sr., remained titular president until his death in 1915. After 1881 William is listed as general manager of the family concern.

Mrs. Ellen Grunewald began to work as a cashier for the Grunewalds in 1882. Her exact relationship to the family, like that of Julius, is unclear. In 1889 she is listed as the widow of Julius Grunewald. This is the only year in which she is so listed, and this occurs fifteen years after Julius' name had disappeared from the directories.

By the 1880s, the Grunewald establishment was large enough to have additional positions which family members did not fill. Eugene Robinson became manager of the Grunewald Opera House in 1885, with William Grunewald remaining as overall manager of the corporation. In 1887 the Canal Street address was referred to in the directory as a "branch store" and was managed by William, in addition to his general duties.

Rene Grunewald, one of the younger sons, entered the family business in 1888. City directories for the late 1880s and the 1890s indicate a constantly growing establishment. For several years in the 1880s, Clifford operated a branch store at 50 Main Street in Houston, Texas, while William ran the branch store on Canal Street and managed the combined concerns of the Canal and Baronne Street establishments. Directory advertisements from this period list the Grunewalds as "Importers of Musical Instruments, Agents for Celebrated Steinway and Other Pianos, Publishers of Sheet Music." Grunewald's was the first Steinway agency in the United States,

beginning transactions with that company sometime during the Civil War.

In 1889 "Louis Grunewald and Co." was a partnership of Louis, Sr., William Grunewald, and Joseph Flanner. Flanner was the husband of Louis, Sr.'s only daughter, Louise. The 1890 city directory lists the corporation's officers as Louis Grunewald, President; William Grunewald, Treasurer; and Adolph Pollatsec, Secretary. This is the only time Pollatsec appears as a company member. It is not known if Flanner remained actively engaged in the business after 1889. The years 1892 and 1897 mark the entrance of Theodore and Walter Grunewald into the family concern, their positions unspecified.

A "Musical Instrument Factory" was opened at 816 Conti by the Grunewald corporation in 1895. Rene Grunewald is listed as its associate director and manager. In this same year his brother Theodore assumed management of the Grunewald Hotel, built from the ruins of the 1893 fire which destroyed Grunewald Hall. Both the hotel and the factory apparently flourished. By 1897 the instrument factory, then at 822 Conti, had spawned a Grunewald Mandolin Factory, operated by Rene Grunewald as part of the 715 Canal Street establishment. Unfortunately, none of the descendants of the Grunewalds owns any instruments produced at these factories, and none has been located elsewhere.

In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the Grunewalds continued to expand their business interests, and took yet another member of the family into the establishment. Miss Ella Grunewald, relationship unknown, is listed in 1896 as a stenographer for the Louis Grunewald Co. By 1898 William Grunewald is listed as treasurer and manager of the Louis Grunewald Co., and is also president of the Napoleon

Avenue Land and Improvement Company, Ltd., located at 800 Perdido Street. William and Theodore were also secretary and president respectively of the Gardner Motor Company in 1900.

Louis Grunewald, Sr., died in 1915, at age eighty-seven. William was elected president in his father's stead, but he died only two months later. Presidency of the company was then assumed by Benedict Moret Grunewald, William's son, a young man only thirty years of age, but quite able, apparently, to assume leadership.

The Grunewalds published in the course of the nineteenth century a tremendous quantity and variety of music.<sup>6</sup> So extensive were their publications that the Grunewalds periodically issued bulletins listing their new titles. One of these bulletins is part of the private collection of Mr. Vaughn Glasgow of New Orleans. It is number twelve of a series and is a single sheet listing "New and Popular Sheet Music and Books Published by Grunewald." The music listed is solo music for piano, voice, and violin. A list of music books for children is also included. This bulletin was published by Grunewald when their business address was 127 Canal and 16 to 22 Baronne, from 1881 to 1893.

Another publication by Grunewald issued from this address supplied the public with more information concerning music for sale. It was titled Thematic List of Songs Suitable for All Occasions. This pamphlet contains the opening bars of songs bearing copyright dates ranging from

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<sup>6</sup>Their large sheet music department and publishing concerns were sold to G. Schirmer in 1920.

1870 to 1891. One twenty-seven Canal is given as the Grunewald address on this work, indicating the years 1881 to 1893. Solo songs for sopranos altos, tenors, and basses are included in this listing. Separate listings of comic and topical songs, songs with banjo accompaniment, and songs with guitar accompaniment are included.

A third publication of the Grunewald family was Grunewald's Music Journal. One issue is extant, Volume 11, No. 2, issued in March of 1880.<sup>7</sup> Seven pieces of music comprise the bulk of this journal, five vocal solos with piano accompaniment and two piano solos. Piano exercise books and solo instrumental music are advertised on the covers of the Journal, and a picture of Grunewald Hall is included on the front cover. The Grunewald firm is advertised on these outer covers as the sole agent for Steinway, Sohmer, Knabe, Pleyel, Behr Bros. and Fischer pianos, as well as Schoninger, and Clough and Warren organs.

Only one catalog of Grunewald music is extant.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, no date of publication appears on it, and the address given is simply "New Orleans, La." It cannot therefore be determined if this catalog is a nineteenth or twentieth century publication. Over a thousand pieces of music are listed in this booklet. Specific dating may be possible when more Grunewald music can be studied and comparative listings made.

One problem which arises in the study of extant music published by

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<sup>7</sup>Louisiana State Museum Library, New Orleans, uncataloged music, Folio 10.

<sup>8</sup>It is in the Louisiana Room of the Louisiana State University Library.

Grunewald lies in trying to determine exact date of publication. More than one third of the extant 186 pieces carry no date of copyright or publication. However, of these, only seven pieces lack both a date and a specific Grunewald address. Therefore, an approximate date of publication can be determined by comparing the address given on the music to the specific years which the Grunewalds maintained such an address. Even this process may not produce an entirely accurate placement, however, for evidence from certain dated pieces of music reveals that Grunewald owned some copyrights for several years before he actually published the music. "Clorinda Polka," by Andrea Alfisi, for example, was copyrighted in 1853, but not published by Grunewald until his business address was 129 Canal Street, sometime between 1865 and 1876. It cannot be determined if Grunewald owned this copyright as early as 1853. It is quite possible that he began to buy music as soon as he arrived in this country, with the intention of publishing at some future date.

Five of the sixty-nine pieces of music which carry no date of copyright or publication bear the address 26 Chartres Street, the address occupied by Grunewald during the Civil War. Four of these pieces are piano dances, the fifth a vocal selection with piano accompaniment.

The largest amount of undated music, thirty-six pieces, bears the address 129 Canal Street. Grunewald maintained this address from 1865 through 1875. In 1874 and 1875 the Baronne Street address was also part of the Grunewald establishment, but this address may not have been included on some of their published music. Eleven of these thirty-six pieces are vocal selections with piano accompaniment, a much larger percentage than usual. Of these, five are from a series called "Gems of

German Song With English Words." It should be noted that Philip Werlein also published songs under this same series title. By the time Grunewald published "The Brightest Eyes," one of the five pieces mentioned above, the series consisted of sixty songs. Because many of these songs bear no evidence of copyright date or owner, it is not possible to determine who was the original owner of these pieces. Even different series were not mutually exclusive. In this same group of undated music, the song "Come Into the Garden Maud" appears in two different series published by Grunewald: "Lyric Parks -- A Collection of Songs and Ballads" and "Gems of English Song."

Not all of the vocal music published by Grunewald were popular ballads. Three opera excerpts are also included in this undated music and two of these are taken from series. "Ah! Mon Fils," an aria from Le Prophete (1849), by Meyerbeer is part of a series called simply "Operas," which included at least thirty-eight selections. "Then You'll Remember Me," from The Bohemian Girl (1843), by Michael Balfe, was published as part of a series called "Collection of Gems from Favorite Operas," a group of thirty-one works. Published singly was "A Che la Morte Ognora" from Verdi's Il Trovatore. Both the Verdi and the Meyerbeer selections include English translations.

The remaining twenty-five pieces which are undated but carry the 129 Canal Street address are all piano solos and are largely popular dances. Interesting exceptions are the "Home Sweet Home," Op. 3, variations by J. H. Slack, the "Carnaval de Venise" fantasy by Jules Schulhoff, and "Le Tremolo" by Henri Rosellen. Each of these pieces is also part of a series. "Le Tremolo" belongs to a group called "Compositions of Henri



Rosellen," each of which apparently concentrated on a single pianistic skill. "Le Tremolo" abounds, needless to say, in tremolos. The "Carnaval de Venise" is one of a group of twenty-six pieces titled "Choice Collection of Fantasias by Eminent Composers." The "Home Sweet Home" variations are from "Les Perles de Salon," a group of nine selections. These three pieces are more difficult than the dance selections, indicating a market for works requiring advanced skills on the piano.

One other undated piece published with Grunewald's 129 Canal Street address was at one time also published by another firm, that of Junius Hart. This piece creates an interesting problem in dating. In Hart's 1888 catalog, the series "Fairy Belles" by C. J. Viereck contained only eleven pieces. Yet Grunewald's publication of "Brightest Eyes," Op. 703, as number twelve of the "Fairy Belles" series came at a time when his address was 129 Canal, the years 1865 to 1876. One explanation of this situation would be that Hart bought only part of Viereck's series to include in his 1888 catalog and that the series was actually written many years previously.

The remaining twenty-one undated selections published by Grunewald carry addresses owned by the family in the last quarter of the century. "Grunewald Hall" appears on the title pages of seven of these pieces. This was the Baronne Street establishment operated by the Grunewald's from 1874 to 1893. On six other pieces, Grunewald's address is given as "16, 18, 20, and 22 Baronne and 127 Canal."<sup>9</sup> This address limits pub-

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<sup>9</sup>The addition of No. 16 Baronne Street does not appear in any directory listings. It may have been an annex to the main building known as Grunewald Hall. When the structure was rebuilt into a hotel after 1893 it was listed as 14 to 22 Baronne.

lication to the years 1881 to 1893, the years Grunewald owned both establishments. One of the works in this group is Schubert's "Serenade," transcribed for piano by Franz Liszt. It is part of a series called "Oeuvres Choisis," which included music of Beethoven, Weber, Haydn, Liszt, and Mendelssohn.

Three pieces of music were published by Grunewald which have only 127 Canal Street as the Grunewald address. It is possible that these works were published in the short interval between 1893, when the Baronne Street address was destroyed, and 1895, when the Canal Street address was changed to 715. One of these three pieces, the "Polka des Gris-Gris," is a piano solo accompanied by "the toy pocket telegraph." A percussion line bearing the telegraph's part is included above the piano score in the event of the availability of a toy telegraph virtuoso.

Only one piece of music with no date of copyright carries the 715 Canal Street address. This indicates publication in the years 1895 to 1900. The work is entitled "Hearts and Flowers" and is by Theodore M. Tobani.

The great majority of the extant music published by Grunewald bears a specific copyright date. These 117 pieces date from 1853 to the end of the century. Only three were copyrighted in the 1850s, the "Clorinda Polka" referred to above, and two pieces from 1857, the "Lafayette Polka Mazurka" by G. von Hofe and "Time to Go" by Theodore von La Hache. Both of the 1857 pieces are for solo piano.

Although the Civil War and its aftermath dominated the decade of the 1860s in New Orleans, Grunewald did not, like Werlein and Blackmar, undertake publication of southern patriotic music. This may perhaps be

explained by the fact that Louis, Sr., had been in the United States for only eight years when the war began and had not developed any strong Southern sentiments. This lack of patriotic activity on his part may also account for his ability to remain in business throughout the war, while the more outspoken Blackmar and Werlein temporarily ceased operations in New Orleans. Of twenty-four extant pieces published by Grunewald during the decade of the 1860s, only two make any reference to the war or to the south. The "Parade Polka March," (1861) "arranged by Theodore von La Hache from the instrumental score was published as a piano polka and subtitled "as played by the New Orleans Washington Artillery." From 1864 a piece called "Clay's Four-Step Polka" is extant. This work was part of a series called "The Southern Bouquet," which consisted of forty "new and fashionable songs and pieces." Since neither of these works has a text, they could not be cited as particularly patriotic. The only other reference to the South in Grunewald's music is a vocal ballad entitled "Beautiful Girl of the South" (1868) by Will S. Hays. It is one of four vocal pieces from this decade. Two others are excerpts, one from Meyerbeer's Robert Le Diable, the other from Verdi's Il Trovatore, and a popular ballad called "Il Bacio," or "Der Kuss."

The remainder of the music published by Grunewald during the 1860s is for solo piano and consists almost exclusively of popular dances. Included in these is a piano version of "Il Bacio," mentioned above. Series titles published by Grunewald during the 1860s include, in addition to "The Southern Bouquet," "24 Amusements for Young Pianists," and "The Home Circle." On the title page of "Home Sweet Home" by C. J. Viereck, a list of twenty-five pieces included in the "24

Amusements" series appears, an indication that series titles were perhaps more a matter of convenience or advertisement rather than a rigid structuring of contents.

Grunewald evidently sought to offer a wide range of difficulty in his piano music. "N'oubliez Pas Mon Nom" (1864) is from "Album for the Piano-Forte" series, a "Selection of Brilliant and Fascinating Gems." This work by A. Cardona is considerably more difficult than most of the popular dance music from the period. At the other end of the spectrum of difficulty, Grunewald offered "Champagne Charlie" (1869), by G. H. L., part of a series entitled "Souvenir de la Nouvelle Orleans" and subtitled "Six Easy Pieces for Young Players on the Piano-Forte."

The music which Grunewald published in the 1870s was also largely for solo piano. Of twenty-one extant pieces, nineteen are piano dances and two are popular ballads. The music of the 1870s is interesting for the variety of dedications by the composers. It seemed to become fashionable at this time to dedicate sheet music to prominent individuals or local societies. The "New Orleans Carnival Grand March" (no composer given) of 1873 is dedicated to "His Majesty Rex Carnival," king of the annual Mardi Gras celebration in New Orleans. A less fanciful dedication was made by Auguste Davis in the same year when he dedicated his "Gas Light Galop" to James Jackson, President of the New Orleans Gas Light Company. Steamship lines also qualified for musical fame. The title "State Line Waltz" (1874), by Davis, does not refer to geographical boundaries. His dedication reads, instead, "to the State Line Company of First-Class Full Powered Steamships."

With the end of the war, return to normalcy included organization

of various social clubs. In 1875 Grunewald published "The Last Message." The composer is listed simply as "Claude" and the work is dedicated to "the Euterpean Musical Society of New Orleans." Military matters were not entirely out of the picture, however, for "Our Gallant Vaudry Rifle Quickstep" (1877), by Davis, was dedicated to Colonel William T. Vaudry. Dedication to any military organization in the 1870s is particularly interesting, since the South was at this time still undergoing the rigors of Reconstruction, the aftermath of the Civil War.

Two other works published by Grunewald in the 1870s should be noted. One of these, the "New Orleans Favorite," a waltz (Op. 73) by Emile Richard, is one of the few works published which uses the name of the city in the title. The other, "Life Let Us Cherish" (1874), is a waltz by Pierre Latour which was part of the only series apparently published by Grunewald in the 1870s. Works in this series, "Lessons From the Bee Hive," are described as "easy arrangements," showing Grunewald's continued concern with reaching players of varied abilities.

A sharp increase in the amount of extant vocal music published by Grunewald is evident in works from the 1880s. Ten of thirty-four works are for solo voice. They include a wide variety of types. Among them are two religious songs, rare items for a period so dominated by popular ballads. The first is "Vesper Bells" (1881), by H. F. Gruendler, with words by J. M. Flynn. The second is "Veni Creator (Psalm 84)," written in 1884 by Theodore von La Hache. The title page of this second song describes it as "this talented composer's last work." The remaining eight vocal pieces published by Grunewald in this decade are popular ballads. "Amanda" (1884), with music by H. F. Gruendler and words by

Frank Gardner is dedicated to "my sincere friend James C. Fulton of Fulton's Juvenile Mastadon Minstrels." An example of one of New Orleans' many dialects is present in "Zo-Zo Mokeur," a "Chanson Creole" by W. T. Francis, with "paroles le Chatah-Imah." Both English and French texts are provided, the French being a Creole dialect rather than Parisian French.

A vocal selection entitled "Meet Me Tonight, Love" (1884), by Tommy Tucker, has the distinction of being the only extant piece to carry a specific address for the Grunewald branch store in Houston which Rene Grunewald operated in the 1880s. This particular work is number one of a series called "Parlor Repertoire" and was "Presented by J. C. Fischer Pianos, New York, L. Grunewald Agent, 16-22 Baronne Street, N. O., La. Branch House 50 Main St., Houston, Texas." Many more pieces of the "Parlor Repertoire" appeared under Grunewald's name in New Orleans, music for solo piano as well as voice accompanied by piano.

Grunewald's instrumental music from the 1880s follows the pattern of previous years. It is exclusively for solo piano, and consists almost entirely of popular dance music. Like other music stores of the mid-1880s, Grunewald sold "Mexican" music to a public smitten by the Mexican band at the Cotton Exposition of 1884-85. Publication rights to certain pieces owned by Junius Hart were evidently bought by Grunewald, for in 1885 "The Cactus," by W. T. Francis, appeared with Grunewald's name as publisher, even though Hart owned the copyright and also published an edition of this piece in 1885. Grunewald did change the series title under which "The Cactus" appeared from "Mexican Music Published by Junius Hart" to "The Most Popular Gems of Mexico." Grunewald's series

was to have consisted of at least sixteen titles, judging from the listing on the title page of "The Cactus." One other work from the "Popular Gems" series is extant - "Una Orgia (An Orgie)," a dance arranged for piano by William N. Grunewald and copyrighted by Grunewald in 1885. This work makes occasional use of habanera rhythm and is generally more difficult than most piano dances published at this time. The tempo indication is simply "moderato." Nothing in the music is particularly orgiastic. Perhaps its excitement lay in the rendering by the performer.

Grunewald also owned the copyright to one other set of Mexican music. This series, copyrighted by Grunewald in 1885, is entitled "Souvenirs of the Famous Band of the 8th Mexican Calvary as Played at the World's Exposition at New Orleans." It consists of eight pieces arranged by W. T. Francis of which a piano "reverie" entitled "Pensamientos" and a piano dance called "Mexican Schottisch" are the only two extant works.

Grunewald also bought publication rights from, or was granted them by Henry Wehrmann, Jr. In 1888 Wehrmann dedicated "Moonlight Waltz" to "Willie N. Grunewald, Esq." Both the Grunewalds and the Wehrmanns issued copies of this piano solo.

Grunewald's piano music of the 1880s reflected a wide range of topics of local interest. The death of Jefferson Davis in 1889 was commemorated by the "Jefferson Davis Funeral Waltz," a piano solo by "A. D." It was issued with a sketch of Davis on the title page. In a much lighter vein, J. W. H. Eckert, "Sir Knight of Tooters," wrote "Kicapoo Waltz" in 1884 for the "Phunny Phorty Phellows" Mardi Gras marching club of New Orleans.

There is a sharp decline in the amount of vocal music which is extant from the 1890s; only two vocal pieces from this decade remain. The first,

written in 1893, is entitled "Inauguration Song" and subtitled "The Old Velvet Chair." This song by Kate Lee Ferguson is dedicated to Grover Cleveland, elected to his second term as President in 1893. The other vocal work, "The Bugle Call," was published by Grunewald in 1895 in conjunction with Wm. A. Pond of New York and the Chicago Music Company of Chicago. It was written by John Milledge, "Lt. Col. of Calvary Georgia Volunteers (Retired)." This work is one of the few published during the period to include an obligato instrumental part in addition to the piano accompaniment. It is an ideal vehicle for a singer wishing to be accompanied by piano and B<sup>b</sup> bugle. An optional alto part is included for the four verses, and the refrain may be sung by solo soprano, soprano and alto, or SATB chorus. Included with this arrangement is a second arrangement for male quartet, and a third, for two B<sup>b</sup> cornets. All three arrangements use the piano accompaniment written for the vocal solo.

Piano music published by Grunewald in the 1890s continued business ventures begun in the 1880s. More of the "Popular Gems of Mexico" were published, as well as other works by Henry Wehrmann. Dedications to individuals, businesses, and a wide variety of organizations are still common. The "N. O. B. C. Waltzes" (1892), are dedicated by Laurent L. Comes to "The New Orleans Bicycle Club," and the "Crescent Rifles March" (1892), to the "Military Club" by Henry Wehrmann. Forty other compositions of Wehrmann are listed on the inside of the front cover of this work, but neither Wehrmann nor Grunewald is identified as the publisher of these pieces. Other clubs to which music was dedicated include the "Pastime Pleasure Club of New Orleans," to whom A. J. Montamat dedicated his



"Pastime Waltz" in 1892 and "The Magenta Social Club of New Orleans, La." to which the same composer dedicated "Magenta Mazurka" in the following year.

At least three newspapers were recipients of dedications in 1894 and 1895. The "Daily States Dudes Two-Step" (1894), by Louis Blake, was dedicated to the Daily States, a New Orleans newspaper. In 1895 "The Crusader," a piano march, was written by Harry Weber to honor the New Orleans Daily Crusader. The officers and editors of this paper are listed on the title page of the music. The "Algiers Herald March" (1894), by John Wiegand, featured a reproduction of a newspaper front page as its title page and was dedicated to the Algiers Herald newspaper.

Title pages and dedications of many pieces of music from the 1890s are often of interest to historians because they depict local events, prominent buildings, or popular political figures on their title pages. The "Trolley Polka" (1893), by Paul Tulane Wayne, is dedicated to the "New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad Company" and features on its title page pictures of Wayne, the five officers of the company, and the site of the trolley "start" on Carrollton Avenue. Colleges and fraternities also received their share of musical publicity. The "Tulane March" (1894), by John Weigand is "dedicated to the students of Tulane University, New Orleans," and Grunewald's publication is advertised on the cover as "the only authorized edition." "Messrs. Geo. Soule and Sons, N. O.," received the dedication of "Soule College Waltz" by Nichols J. Clesi, and the "Kappa Alpha Fraternity" was remembered by Miss Marie Cayenavette in the "Kappa Alpha Waltz" of 1894. The Grunewalds themselves were appreciated by local composers. S. Hernandez dedicated "La Florera" to Rene Grunewald

in 1894 and Anita Socola dedicated "Nocturne" to "the L. Grunewald Co. Ltd." in 1895. The "Nocturne" is for solo piano and violin or cello. The violin part is included on a separate sheet, a rarity in publications of this time. It is not a technically difficult piece and the violin part may be played by cello if transposed down an octave.

Social prominence was not necessarily a prerequisite for the dedication of sheet music. The "Young Men's Gymnastic Club" received the dedication of "Anniversary Waltz" (1897) by Eugene E. Boniel "on the occasion of their silver anniversary." The "Elmira Waltz" (1896) went out to the "Elmira Social Club of Algiers, La." from Peter J. Pressler, Jr. And at the nadir of obscurity lies W. Cannard Diebel's "The Jolly March" of 1896, dedicated "to Fred Diebel, The Popular Notary Public of New Orleans, La."

Local and national military organizations were obviously appreciated by nineteenth-century composers. The brief Spanish-American conflict of 1898 and the subsequent battle of Manila Bay brought forth two compositions dedicated to Admiral George Dewey, hero of the Manila Bay encounter. The first of these was "Dewey March," composed by Herman Bellstedt, Jr., in 1898. The second was "Salute to the Navy," subtitled "Sail on O Union Strong and Great" by Minnie E. Beldon, written in 1899. The "Third Battalion March" (1897), by Louis Blake, was dedicated to an organization closer to the people of New Orleans, the "3rd Battalion, Louisiana State National Guard, N. O." A picture of Major E. R. Violet, commander of the battalion, appears on the cover of this piano march. Blake was not gifted as a composer with tremendous ingenuity. The entire first and last third of this march consist of a piano figure the composer calls

"imitation of drums" and was to be "played at the extreme end of the piano 8va bassa." An imitation of a bugle call enters over this steady "drum" solo before the actual march begins.

A final work published by Grunewald which is noteworthy for its dedication is the "Elks March to the South" of 1898 by Eugene Boniel. This is the same Boniel who composed the "Anniversary Waltz" for the gymnastics club. The Elks march is dedicated by Boniel to "N. O. Lodge No. 30 in honor of the Elks Reunion, May 10, 11, 12, 1898, N. O. La." All twelve officers of Lodge No. 30 are pictured on the title page of this music.

In summary, the Grunewald establishment must be ranked as one of the two or three most important music companies operating in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. It remained a family business well into the twentieth century, constantly expanding from its beginnings in 1858 by Louis Grunewald, Sr., as a one-room piano and music store. In addition to the sale of pianos, organs, and other musical instruments, the Grunewalds undertook a tremendous amount of music publication designed to appeal to the widest spectrum of the general public. That they were successful in this is evidenced by the growth of their establishment and its continued success.

## CHAPTER X

### JUNIUS HART

The activities of Junius Hart as publisher can be traced as far back as 1872 and followed up to 1896. He was thus the last important publisher to flourish in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. The decade of the 1880s, and particularly the years 1885 to 1890, mark the years of Hart's greatest activity. Fifty-one pieces of music published by Hart are available for study, and with three exceptions, all are pieces for solo piano. They include popular opera arias and overtures arranged for piano, as well as a wide assortment of dances such as polkas, mazurkas, and waltzes. Of the three works available which are not for solo piano, one is a waltz for piano, four-hands, entitled "Gretchen Grand Waltz" (1886), by Robert Baumbach. The other two pieces are both vocal ballads, dating from 1886 and 1889. The first, "I think of Thee, Do Think of Me!," is by Julius Reinhardt; the second, "Anelite," by E. A. Rogers.

Social and political events which were greatly to affect Hart's publishing business occurred in 1883 and 1884. A bill was passed in Congress in 1883 through which the federal government formed a partnership with the National Cotton Planter's Association. The goal of this partnership was to create a cotton exposition which was to "feature the manufacture of cotton and the machinery used in its treatment."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Kendall, John Smith, History of New Orleans, p. 457.

As a shipping center of the cotton industry, New Orleans was chosen as the site for this exposition.

The original plan for the exposition soon grew from national to international scope. In addition to large display areas for each American state, space was also set aside for Mexico and many South American and European countries. The main building of the exposition covered thirty-three acres, and within this structure a music hall was built which could seat eleven thousand, and which had a stage large enough to accomodate six hundred musicians. A gigantic organ, built into the hall, completed the musical preparations for the exhibition.

The World Cotton Centennial Exposition officially opened on December 16, 1884, and closed on June 1, 1885. The most important musical activity connected to the Exposition was the performances of the Mexican Military Band. This group of musicians was part of Mexico's official contribution to the Exposition. The band was an instant success. "Mexican" music became a profitable business venture for Hart, and he engaged composers and arrangers to provide him with such music for publication. Hart managed to secure his first copyright of "Mexican" music in 1884. This is illustrative of the immediate impact of the band, since the Exposition did not open until December 16 of that same year. The first "Mexican" piece published by Hart is entitled "Mexico" and subtitled "Elegant Waltz." It is a piano solo arrangement by Narcisco Martinez of a piece "played at the World's Exposition in New Orleans by the celebrated Mexican Military Band" and is dedicated to General Porfirio Diaz, President of the Mexican

Republic. By 1885 "Mexico" had become a series title for many more piano solos and arrangements by Martinez, W. T. Francis, and others. Martinez had, in addition, a separate series of at least eight pieces called "Compositions of Narcisco Martinez" which were also published by Hart. These works also had Spanish sub-titles. By 1886 the back covers of Hart's music advertised him as "the First and Largest Publisher of Mexican Music in the United States"<sup>2</sup> and by 1890 his list of Mexican music had expanded to include seventy-five pieces. It is surprising that this vogue should have lasted so long, for the Exposition had closed its doors in 1885 and re-opened for only a few months after that under local management.

Upon examination of the numerous piano solos that Hart billed as "Mexican" music, one can find nothing to distinguish them from numerous other dance pieces published by Hart and others in the last quarter of the century. The only "Mexican" aspect appears to be their titles, and even these are sometimes far-fetched. Martinez's arrangement of the "Adam y Eva Polka" (1888) is a case in point.

By the 1890s, the Exposition and the Mexican Band were becoming only memories, but they were still a profitable one for Hart if we are to judge by his output. The "Mexico" series was still being published, and in 1891 "El Tivoli de San Pedro" was dedicated to Captain Encarnacion Payen, leader of the Eighth Regiment Band of Mexico. This piece was a

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<sup>2</sup>"Lorelei Waltzes" by Eugene Baylor, arranged by W. T. Francis. Presently in the private collection of Mr. Al Rose of New Orleans.

piano schottisch. Another schottisch was dedicated in 1893 to the composer Martinez by Laurent L. Comes and was entitled, appropriately enough, "Reminiscences of Mexico." Even at this late date Hart's list of Mexican music contained 67 pieces.

Although Hart sought to capitalize on the immediate popularity of the Mexican Military Band, he was far-sighted enough to continue publication of other music while reaping the benefits of the Mexican craze. Back covers from the late 1880s list "Latest Music Published by Junius Hart" along with the "Mexico" series. These other works include piano solos and arrangements by W. T. Francis and Martinez, the same composers who contributed to the "Mexico" series. Martinez's own series had expanded by 1887 and 1888 to include fourteen titles in English and French. All of the above were piano waltzes. A waltz by W. T. Francis of 1888 is entitled "Cecile" and is dedicated to "my little friend little Lena Cecile Hart." The picture of the child on the cover is evidently that of the publisher's daughter, implying that Hart and Francis were personal friends as well as business associates.

Hart was responsible also for the publication of short series by composers from other cities, or composers with apparent claim to fame of some sort. Angelo Patricolo's Op. 1 (1892) was a piano waltz with the title "Echoes of Italy" and with the subtitle "Palermo." A picture of Mr. Patricolo appears on the cover sheet where he is advertised as a "Graduate of the Conservatory of Palermo, Italy." Italy did not, evidently, capture the fancy of the public as did Mexico, for this series consists of only three works by Patricolo. On a more local

level, Hart furthered the career of J. A. Fourrier of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by publication of his music. The "Emeline Schottische" survives from a series by Fourrier and was copyrighted in 1889. Compositions by Fourrier also appeared under the imprint of Philip Werlein in the last part of the century.

Another local composer whom Hart published was Joseph Lee of Austin, Texas. Under the title "Vocal and Instrumental Compositions of Joseph Lee," seven pieces were listed. Three of these were vocal, indicating that Hart published vocal music which is not extant. The remaining four pieces were for piano solo. The surviving piece from this series is subtitled "Dance Voudous Caprice" and appeared in 1887.

The firm of L. Grahm and Son of New Orleans printed for Hart, in 1888, a Descriptive Catalogue of Select Music Published by Junius Hart.<sup>3</sup> This small volume is invaluable for its complete list of Hart's publications up to this time. The front cover advertises that "this catalogue contains only our own publications." The contents of the booklet are divided into two areas; the first, a listing of titles published by Hart, and the second, a series of full-page advertisements of the various piano and organ manufacturers for whom Hart was the "sole agent" in New Orleans. The piano manufacturers include Chickering, Hardmon, Decker and Bro., Emerson, Vose and Sons, Starr, and Gilbert. The organ builders represented are Story and Clark, and

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<sup>3</sup>A copy of this catalog is presently in the Louisiana Room of the Louisiana State University Library.



Loring and Blake. Each of the above manufacturers has a full-page advertisement in this catalog, and most include in their promotion a picture of their product. This is in itself an interesting visual summary of the end-of-the-century tastes in organs and pianos.

A total of 1,668 titles make up the first half of the Hart catalog. Of these, 847 pieces are listed for piano solo, and 594 are for voice with piano accompaniment. Two hundred twenty-seven other titles are grouped into categories such as "Mandolin Duets," "Piano and Violin," and "Banjo Solos." In the entire catalog only eighty-nine titles are listed which apparently do not call for the use of a piano, either as solo or accompanying instrument. This figure is 5.3% of Hart's entire output and points up dramatically how all-pervading the piano had become by the last quarter of the century. Below is a listing of the categories found in Hart's 1888 catalog, followed by the number of titles in each category:

Piano Songs .....	468
Songs With Chorus .....	12
Comic Songs.....	4
French Songs .....	75
Guitar Songs .....	29
Banjo Songs .....	6
Rondos, Fantasies, Variations, etc. ....	176
Waltzes .....	200
Polkas .....	146
Schottisches .....	51
Mazurkas and Polka Mazukas .....	94
Galops .....	45
Marches and Quicksteps .....	94
Varieties, Lancers, and Quadrilles.....	40
Miscellaneous .....	13
Four Hands .....	20
Piano Studies .....	3
Harmony .....	1
One Page Piano Pieces .....	52

First Pieces for Young People .....	11
Rest From Study.....	16
Fairy Belles by C. J. Viereck .....	11
Bonbons for the Young Pianist by C. J. Viereck.	25
Boquet de Melodies by Ferd Beyer .....	8
Repertoire by Ferd Beyer .....	6
Fleures Italiennes by Ferd Beyer .....	5
Guitar Pieces .....	10
Flute .....	3
Piano and Violin .....	11
Mandolin and Piano .....	4
Mandolin Solos .....	26
Banjo Solos .....	5
Banjo Duets .....	6
Mandolin Duets .....	2
Mandolin and Guitar Duets .....	2

There seems to be no particular reason for the rather unusual placement of the piano, four-hands, music, the piano studies, and the single harmony text. These three categories are located in the midst of what is otherwise solo piano music. The eight categories that follow the harmony text all appear to be series within themselves, particularly the works by Viereck and Beyer. This may or may not be the reason this piano music is separated from the rest of the solo piano listings.

The one work that appears in Hart's "Harmony" category is Harmony Simplified and Made Clear by Armand E. Blackmar. Both this work and Blackmar's own activities as a publisher are discussed in Chapter VIII. It might also be noted that all four of the pieces under "Mandolin and Piano" were by H. C. Blackmar, Armand's brother.

The word "descriptive" in this catalog's title is not idly used. At the head of the first page of title listings, the following paragraph appears.

The letter following each title indicates the Key. The two letters in parenthesis indicate the lowest and highest notes in the vocal part. The figure shows the degree of difficulty, the songs being divided into three degrees - 1, easy; 2, medium; and 3, difficult. The piano pieces range from 1, the very easiest, to 7, very difficult. All pieces marked with a star \* have handsome lithographic title pages. Eighteen pieces are so marked.

Furthermore, there appear under random titles in the catalog very brief descriptions of the music which might further entice the reader to purchase them. Under "Gray Hairs of My Mother" by Bishop, Hart states simply, "There are no better songs than this." "Dying Message," by Addison, is described as "simple, tender, touching," and "Espoir du Retour," by Goetschy, is "a trifle more difficult than 'The Maiden Prayer,' and just as pretty."

Hart's indication of a work's difficulty through the use of numbers was designed to help the customer choose music suited to his abilities. For example, the work "Dance on the Water" (1885), by Albert Hartman, is rated "3." This work contains simple, conventional pianistic figures, such as single-note melodies in the right hand accompanied by simple chords in the left. The greatest difficulty lies in some repeated-note passages, but even these are not demanding at the waltz tempo indicated.<sup>4</sup> "The Cactus" and "D'Juba," on the other hand, are rated "6," and pose considerably more formidable problems. Octaves and full chords are used in the melody and wide-spread figures are used in

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<sup>4</sup>Dr. Milton Hallman, Associate Professor of Music at Louisiana State University, examined the music discussed. The writer's comments are taken from Dr. Hallman's notes on this material.

both hands. Also present are thirty-second note figures which alternate between the left and right hand. These two works are by W. T. Francis and were copyrighted in 1885 and 1887 respectively. Unfortunately, no pieces are extant which bear a "7," Hart's highest category of difficulty.

In summary, it may be said that Hart was an important New Orleans publisher, active in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Like other publishers of this period he issued numerous popular piano dances. His output of vocal selections, however, appears to have been quite small. Hart's historical significance lies primarily in his publication of "Mexican" music popular during and after the Cotton Exposition of 1884-1885. In this area Hart was the leading publisher and advertised as first and foremost in the field. Extant music validates his claim.

## CHAPTER XI

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary and Conclusions

New Orleans was in the nineteenth century the largest city in Louisiana, and one of the largest in the entire South. It served as the cultural center of the state and as such fostered a wide variety of businesses related to music and musical performance. From 1826 onwards, when Emile Johns began advertising music for sale, the business of selling and publishing music in New Orleans prospered, along with the sale of musical instruments. The sale of instruments also became a lucrative business for Johns when he opened his own store in 1830, and for the men who followed in his footsteps, particularly William T. Mayo.

The firms of Emile Johns, Benjamin Casey, and William Mayo were active chiefly in the first half of the nineteenth century. The second half of the century was dominated by the larger establishments of Wehrmann, Werlein, Blackmar, Grunewald, and Hart. Throughout the century there operated also a host of small music firms, responsible for some publishing. Other music was published by businesses as advertisement vehicles, e.g., the Crescent Insurance Company's music. Individuals like H. E. Lehmann and Henry Wehrmann, Jr., used music publication to further their careers as composers. Lehmann published his own music; Wehrmann's was published by his family's establishment.

Each of the firms to which individual chapters have been devoted in this work were unique in their contribution to music publishing in New Orleans. Emile Johns, the pioneer publishing figure in the city, was responsible for the first works to carry a New Orleans imprint, and was a well-known performer and composer in his own time. William Mayo, his successor, bought Johns' business and continued Johns' practice of publishing local composers. Like Johns, he also purchased music from Northern cities for sale in the South, thus keeping New Orleans in touch with the musical tastes of other major cities.

Benjamin Casey, the third important figure from the first half of the century, was not responsible for a large number of publications. His chief contribution to New Orleans' music lay in the purchase and distribution of music from other parts of the country.

The Wehrmann family was an indispensable part of music publishing in New Orleans in the second half of the nineteenth century. Hundreds of pieces of music were engraved or lithographed by various members of the family for all of the other major publishers in New Orleans. In addition, the family published music under their own name, including the music of Henry Wehrmann, Jr., their son, mentioned above.

The establishment begun by Johns in 1830 and bought by Mayo in 1846 passed directly into the hands of Philip Werlein in 1854. Under the direction of Werlein and his son, Philip Werlein II, the family establishment grew to become one of the largest in the city. The Werleins were responsible for publication of hundreds of piano solos

and vocal ballads in the second half of the century. The Werleins temporarily left New Orleans and the music business during part of the Civil War, but not before achieving musical fame by publishing the first Southern edition of "Dixie."

The area of Confederate publication in New Orleans was dominated by the firm of A. E. Blackmar and Bro. Armand Blackmar, the elder brother, was one of the most vocal Southern supporters in New Orleans and was fined and imprisoned for publication of Confederate music. The most famous publications of the Blackmar firm are "Maryland! My Maryland!" and "Bonnie Blue Flag," both of which went through several editions.

The Grunewald establishment encompassed a wider variety of musical enterprises than any other firm active in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. In addition to the publication and sale of sheet music, the family also sold pianos, organs, and other musical instruments. The Grunewalds owned, besides their music store, two large performance halls contained in the Grunewald Opera House, an instrument factory (type of instrument unknown), and a mandolin factory. At least ten members of the family were involved in these various businesses at some time during the century.

Junius Hart owned the last large firm to begin music publication in nineteenth-century New Orleans. Active in the last quarter of the century, Hart is remembered chiefly for his publication of "Mexican" music in connection with the performances of the Mexican Military Band at the Cotton Exposition of 1884-1885.

### Recommendations

Much research remains to be done in several areas closely related to music publishing in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. The firms of Wehrmann, Werlein, and Grunewald carried their work into the twentieth century, a period outside of the scope of this study. Their contributions to twentieth-century publishing have therefore not been evaluated.

Many local composers who were active in New Orleans in the nineteenth century have never been thoroughly researched, nor has their music been systematically studied. Among these are J. C. Viereck, Edward O. Eaton, Robert Meyer, Theodore von La Hache, Auguste Davis, and Henry Wehrmann, Jr. Much information about these composers and the firms which published their works remains to be gleaned from New Orleans newspapers published at the time of their activity.

A collection of Blackmar music belonging to Christine Miller of New Orleans has never been catalogued or examined. Such examination could perhaps add a new dimension to the Blackmars' activities as publishers.

The combined publications of the firms discussed in this work give a fascinating overview of the cultural life of New Orleans in the nineteenth century. Because the piano was by far the most popular instrument of this period, literally thousands of popular dances and other piano solos were written and published. In addition to playing the piano, singing was considered a social skill necessary to the genteel young ladies and gentlemen of this age. Consequently, reams



of popular ballads and simplified arrangements of opera arias were published. These expressed a range of sentiment from the comic to the tragic.

The music published in New Orleans in the nineteenth century consisted almost entirely of the kinds of vocal and piano solos mentioned above. Only occasionally was this flow of music enlarged by publication of religious songs, or solo piano music demanding more highly developed technique than that required for most parlor music.

The titles and dedications of much of the music published in this era offer interesting insights into New Orleans culture in the nineteenth century. The elaborately lithographed title pages of many of these pieces also afford a unique view of this society, and in many instances depict events, music establishments, local composers, or prominent city officials.)

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## APPENDIX

### CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF NEW ORLEANS DIRECTORIES

- 1822 The New Orleans Directory and Register. New Orleans: John Adams Paxton, 1822.
- 1823 The New Orleans Directory and Register. New Orleans: John Adams Paxton, 1823.
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- 1883 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1883. New Orleans: L. Soards & Co., 1883.
- 1884 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1884. New Orleans: L. Soards, 1884.
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- 1886 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1886. New Orleans: L. Soards, 1886.
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- 1889 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1889. New Orleans:  
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- 1890 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1890. New Orleans:  
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- 1891 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1891. New Orleans:  
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- 1892 Soards' New Orleans City Directory for 1892. New Orleans:  
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L. Soards, 1899.
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L. Soards, 1900.

## VITA

Peggy Cecile Boudreaux was born November 17, 1946, in Thibodaux, Louisiana. She received her elementary and secondary education in the public schools of Raceland, Louisiana, graduating from Raceland High School in 1964. From 1964 to 1968, she attended the University of Southwestern Louisiana in Lafayette, Louisiana. She received a Bachelor of Music Education degree from that university in 1968. From 1968 to 1970, she attended the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville, Arkansas, where, as a graduate assistant, she taught brass and music appreciation. During the years 1971 and 1972, she was employed by the Orleans Parish School Board of Louisiana as the Audio-Visual Coordinator for the public and private schools of New Orleans. She enrolled as a graduate student at Louisiana State University in the Fall of 1972. From December of 1972 to September of 1974, she was employed by the English Language and Orientation Program at Louisiana State University as a tape technician. Since 1974 she has been the graduate assistant in charge of taping and tape duplication for this same program.



## EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

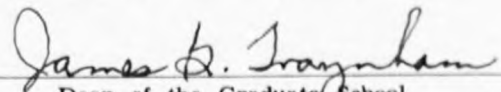
Candidate: Peggy C. Boudreaux

Major Field: Music

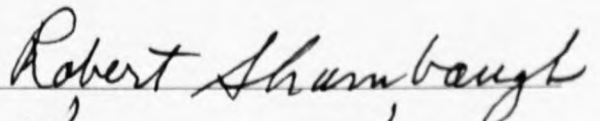
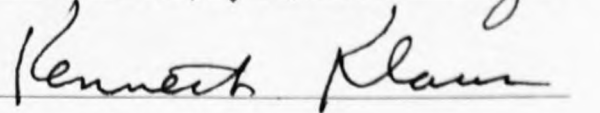
Title of Thesis: Music Publishing in New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century

Approved:

  
Major Professor and Chairman

  
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination:

July 20, 1977